FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 168 *27 August 1980*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Hungarian Troops Depart for Warsaw Pact Maneuvers AA 1
Unit Arrives in Dresden AA 1
Kessler Addresses Meeting on Warsaw Pact Maneuvers AA 1

ALBANIA

Polish Leadership Changes Likely To Have Little Effect B 1
U.S., Soviet Military Maneuvers in Europe Criticized B 1
'Correct Price Policy' Has Always Been Applied B 2
Briefs: New Book by Hoxha B 2

BULGARIA

Todorov Sends Greetings to Iranian Leader C 1
Memorandum Signed on Development of Health Care in Nigeria C 1
Soviet Geologists Survey Mineral Deposits C 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Commentator Notes 'Frenzied' U.S. Campaign Against Poland [Kvasnicka] D 1
Production Shortcomings Must Be Discussed With Workers D 2
[RUDE PRAVO 23 Aug]
Party Groups Advised To Heed Workers' Suggestions [RUDE PRAVO 25 Aug] D 3
Trade Unions Urged To Do More To Aid Workers Legally D 4
[RUDE PRAVO 25 Aug]
Czech Deputy Premier Analyzes CSSR's Domestic Market [PRACE 22 Aug] D 5
'Bountiful' Grain Harvest Reported in West Slovakia D 6
[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 25 Aug]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Reportage. Communique on Visit by Zambian President Kaunda E 1
Honecker Toast [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23-24 Aug]
Kaunda Toast E 3
Completion of Talks E 5
Communique Issued [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25 Aug] E 6
Leaders Greet Romanian Counterparts on National Holiday E 10
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23-24 Aug]
Honecker Toasts GDR Olympics Team at Berlin Ball [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Aug] E 11
Briefs: Solidarity Shipment for Mozambique E 12

HUNGARY

Budapest Reports Polish Situation, Jagielski Talks in Gdansk F 1
Leaders Greet Ceausescu on Romanian National Day [MAGYAR HIRLAP 23 Aug] F 2
PLO Spokesman Abu Mayzar Received by Berecz F 2
Report on Press Conference [NEPSZABADSAG 24 Aug] F 3
Vancsa Discusses Agriculture-Related Price Increases [MAGYAR HIRLAP 22 Aug] F 4

POLAND

Wojna Warns of 'Incalculable Consequences' of Excessive Demands G 1
[TRYBUNA LUDU]
Walesa Says Strikes Will Continue Until Demands Met [BBC Television] G 4
Work Stoppages Reported Spreading to Other Parts of Country G 5
Wroclaw Factory Workers G 5
Lodz Transportation Strike [DPA] G 6
AFP Report G 6
Situation in Coastal, Tricity Area Reviewed G 6
PAP Report G 7
Government Commission, Gdansk Strikers Negotiations Continue G 7
Scheduled Negotiations Delay [AFP] G 7
Cancellation of Talks [DPA] G 8
Topics of Discussion G 8
'Distance' Between Participants G 8
Gdansk Report on Talks G 9
Further Reportage on Strike Situation in Szczecin G 19
Health, Education Services Strike G 19
Essential Services Operating G 20
Commentary on Demands [Leniszewski] G 20
Reporter Notes Strikers' Demands, Progress of Talks G 21
Trade Unions Central Council Holds 16th Plenum; Chairman Replaced G 21
Discussion, Recommendations G 21
Biography of New Chairman G 24
Central Committee Decisions, Economic Situation Discussed G 24
Wroclaw, Krakow Meetings G 24
Democratic Party Meeting G 25
Warsaw Television Carries Cardinal Wyszynski 26 August Sermon G 26
Great Interest in Cardinal Wyszynski Sermon G 31
Pope Cables Wyszynski on Polish Feast Day [Vatican City] G 32
Reportage on Speeches at PZPR Central Committee Plenum G 32
Gdansk Shipping Personnel G 32
Szczecin Officials G 33
TRYBUNA LUDU Comments on Efforts To Create 'Prolonged Crisis' [21 Aug] G 33
ZYCIE WARSZAWY Warns Against Antisocialist Elements G 36
TRYBUNA LUDU: Economy Dictates Limits to Concessions G 37
PAP Cites Catholic Daily on Current Crisis G 38
Former Sejm Member Sees No Return to Pre-July Situation G 39
[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 25 Aug]
KOR: Only Economic, Moral Support Needed From West G 43
[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 22 Aug]
Catholic Daily Hails Gierek 18 August Speech G 44
[Stefanowicz in SLOWO POWSZECHNE 20 Aug]
Correction to 12 August Warsaw Plenum Review G 45
Government Replies to Waldheim Note on Security G 46
[TRYBUNA LUDU 12 Aug]

ROMANIA

Ceausescu, PCE Leader Santiago Carrillo Meet 26 August H 1
Burtica Meets With Waldheim, Other Delegates to UNGA Conference H 2
Waldheim Meeting H 3
Finance Minister Niculescu Meets With French Banking Officials H 3
Economic Cooperation Discussed With Pakistani Delegation H 3
Mexican CP Secretary General Verdugo Departs 26 August H 4
Constantin-Led Delegation Stops Over in Angola H 4

YUGOSLAVIA

Developments in Polish Situation Reviewed	I 1
BORBA Report [23 Aug]	I 1
Polish National Bank President Arrives, Holds Talks	I 2
Zagreb Reports Continuing Resistance by Afghan Rebels	I 2
Reportage on UN Special Session, Vrhovec Address	I 2
Vrhovec Meets Rao, Agha Shahi [BORBA 25 Aug]	I 2
Vrhovec Address	I 3
Report on Muskie Speech	I 8
Report on Session	I 9
Romanian Trade Union Delegation Holds Talks	I 10
Visiting Romanian Party Official Has Talks on Cooperation	I 10
French Official Holds Talks on Madrid Meeting	I 10

HUNGARIAN TROOPS DEPART FOR WARSAW PACT MANEUVERS

LD261326 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] The appointed troops have left for the joint exercises in the GDR. The appointed troops and cadres of the Hungarian People's Army are to take part in the first half of September in the joint exercises of the Warsaw Pact member states code-named "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" which is to be held on GDR territory and on waters adjoining the Baltic Sea.

Unit Arrives in Dresden

LD261956 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1650 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Dresden--On their way to the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuver a motorized rifle unit of the Hungarian People's Army arrived at the festively decorated stations of Heidenan in Pirna District, Dresden this afternoon. Young people and workers extended a cordial welcome to the soldiers and officers on GDR territory and wished them good results in the exercises.

Speaking at a meeting with the members of the Hungarian Army, Colonel Kahenitz, commander of Pirna Military District said that the most important military event of the year on GDR territory would testify how the fraternally linked states, peoples and armies led by the Marxist-Leninist parties translated into reality with firmness of principle and creatively the teachings of the defense of the socialist fatherland. He wished the unit every success before it continued its journey to the maneuver area.

KESSLER ADDRESSES MEETING ON WARSAW PACT MANEUVERS

LD261540 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1424 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Potsdam/Rostock, 26 Aug (ADN)--Topical questions pertaining to the SED military policy and the preparation of the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact armed forces were the subject of a meeting of the SED Bezirk leadership in Potsdam on Tuesday. Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy GDR defense minister and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army [NVA], reported on the efforts of the NVA to raise its fighting strength and combat readiness. He stated the certainty that the manifold meetings of GDR citizens with members of the friendly armies will turn into moving demonstrations of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, the unshakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries and their armed forces.

The same day Admiral Wilhelm Ehm, deputy defense minister and chief of the People's Navy addressed a meeting of the Rostock Bezirk SED leadership.

POLISH LEADERSHIP CHANGES LIKELY TO HAVE LITTLE EFFECT

AU261214 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 80

[Text] The protest movement in Poland continues on a wide scale. According to today's reports, about 400 industrial enterprises in Gdansk, Gdyn a, Sopot, Szczecin and other regions of Poland are on strike with an overall number of strikers of hundreds and thousands, after almost 2 weeks since the strikes began. Important sectors of the country's economy are seriously affected by the strikes and have experienced huge losses.

The continuance of the strikes was again admitted today by the Polish news agency PAP. It is reported that the committees formed by the strikers to express their demands have refused the offers for a return to work made by the high envoys of the Warsaw leaders.

The Polish news agency PAP reports that a plenum of the revisionist Polish party was held in Warsaw yesterday in connection with the current situation which has been created in Poland. Gierek, the first secretary of the party delivered a speech in which he admitted the country's very difficult economic conditions and the grave political situation that has been created, describing it as a dramatic conflict. He was pessimistic about the improvement of the situation in the future, emphasizing that the fulfillment of the workers' demands will not be easy.

At the same time PAP reports dismissals in the Politburo and Secretariat of the Polish revisionist party's Central Committee. Four members and two candidates were dismissed from the Politburo, among them Premier Babiuch. Jospeh Pinkowski was appointed in his place.

The current political and economic crisis in Poland, as facts show, is a direct consequence of the revisionist course being followed by the regime in power. As such, this crisis cannot be solved with the change of certain persons in power.

U.S., SOVIET MILITARY MANEUVERS IN EUROPE CRITICIZED

AU271136 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 27 Aug 80

["Successive Manoeuvers of the Two Aggressive Blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 27 (ATA)--The two imperialist superpowers and their aggressive blocs are carrying out successive military manoeuvres in Europe. Anong these manoeuvres are those of 40,000 troops of the Warsaw Treaty in East Germany, as well as the manoeuvres to be conducted in the member countries of this bloc next month under the direction of Russian generals. Meanwhile, joint Soviet-Hungarian military maneouvres are being conducted in Hungary. The U.S. imperialists, having concluded a series of manoeuvres conducted in northern Europe, have begun their preparations for another military demonstration by NATO, codenamed "Reforger-80".

This constant sabrerattling constitutes another threat and blackmail towards the peoples of Europe, a demonstration of the warmongering and aggressive nature of the USA and the Soviet Union. It clearly reveals before the international public opinon that the real activity of the two superpowers does not comply with their demagogic clamour on the socalled European security and disarmament.

Reality testifies to the fact that the meeting on "European Security" in Madrid will be held in an atmosphere which has the smell of gun powder and not of peace, as those in Washington and Moscow claim, because the two superpowers have constantly increased their military presence in Europe by deploying new missiles and other modern armament in the territories of the European "ally" countries. No demagogy whatsoever can conceal the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the superpowers to justify their aggression and disguise the war preparations being made by American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

CORRECT PRICE POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN APPLIED

AU261236 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 26 Aug 80

["Prices in Albania Are Stable and Unique Tending Towards Their Reduction"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)--The PLA and the Government of the PSR of Albania have always applied a correct price policy. They have taken all the measures not to allow anarchy, price rise or disproportions in them. They have not given free hand to the spread of speculations, competition or inflation. General characteristic in Albania is that prices are stable and unique throughout the country tending towards their reduction. During the 20 year period 1950-1970 there have taken place 14 massive price reductions, accompanied with other favourizing measures for the working people, with an effect in value terms of 2 billion leks.

The stability of prices has its source in the socialist socioeconomic order, in the Marxist-Leninist policy the PLA has always implemented.

The socialist property over the means of production and the political power of the working class have created the conditions for the planned and centralized organisation, management and development of the economy on the part of the state, thus ensuring the incessant rapid development, at high rates and in a stable way of the economy. Since 1950 nowadays, the total social product has increased in Albania by 3.2 times faster than the growth of the population, the national income have increased 2.7 times faster, the total industrial output 4.6 times faster, the total agricultural output about 2 times faster, etc.

These objective economic and political-social factors have made possible that in Albania the level of prices for the sale of the products of the state enterprises as well as for the purchase of the agricultural and live-stock products be defined in a planned and centralized way by the state, without allowing the free game of prices in the market, their oscillation and the devaluation of the currency. In Albania the defining of sale prices in a spontaneous way by the state enterprises is not allowed. On the contrary, they are forced to rigorously apply the prices set by the state which are unique for the whole country and stable. The market, request and offer are not allowed to act spontaneously. The production of goods for the market is planned by the state in conformity with the needs of the population.

The high rates, the incessant development of the economy have made the Albanian market be always stable, that the prices of food-stuff and industrial goods increase on no occasion, on the contrary keep reducing.

BRIEFS

NEW BOOK BY HOXHA--The second volume of the book "Enver Hoxha--On Socialist Agriculture," has come off the presses. This volume includes materials covering the period 1959-66. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 80 AU]

TODOROV SENDS GREETINGS TO IRANIAN LEADER

AU231359 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 22 Aug 80

[Text] Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent a telegram to Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, congratulating him on his election to this post. The telegram expresses a confidence that the relations between the two countries will continue to develop in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation, in the interest of the international security and of the world peace.

MEMORANDUM SIGNED ON DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH CARE IN NIGERIA

AU261940 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Sofia, 26 Aug (BTA)--Bulgaria will render multilateral assistance to the development of the health care in the State of Kano, Federal Republic of Nigeria. She will staff the health care centre with Bulgarian specialists and will provide experts for consultations on post-graduate qualification of the medical personnel in that state. A medical department will be opened with Bulgarian help and the construction of several hospitals, polyclinics and institutes for training of medical specialists will be started. Nigerian students will be trained in Bulgaria. Days of the Bulgarian medicine will be organized soon in the State of Kano. All this is provided for by the memorandum signed here today on the outcome of the talks here between delegations of the Bulgarian Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of Health Care in the State of Kano, Federal Republic of Nigeria.

SOVIET GEOLOGISTS SURVEY MINERAL DEPOSITS

AU270905 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--Soviet specialists rendered help to Bulgaria in her first successful mineral prospecting, oil and gas production back in 1948. The first industrial deposit of oil and gas in this country was also discovered with Soviet help.

A big group of Soviet geologists are participating now in the land prospecting works to estimate the deposits of oil, gas, coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores in Bulgaria. There will be carried out Bulgaro-Soviet joint geological research into the Black Sea shelf, as well as into the crustal structure of seismoactive areas in the country.

The deposits of iron ore in Kremikovtsi and in other parts of the country formed the foundations of the Bulgarian ferrous metallurgy. The prospecting of the Sredna Gora metal-containing zone is also very successful. "Assarel"--one of the country's biggest copper ore deposits was discovered there. Bulgaria ranks third in the world in mining of lead per capita of the population, and sixth in the world in the production of zinc. Geologists have confirmed that the biggest national deposit of black caking coal is in Dobrudzha (north Bulgaria). Its mining will supply the country with high-caloric coal for power generation. A non-bauxite mineral, called bulgarite, will be used to start in the near future the Bulgarian aluminium production.

1300 Bulgarian specialists are working on different projects abroad within the framework of "Bulgargeomin" specialized organization alone. This organization's branch offices in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Iraq and Somalia have good technological base and qualified engineers and technicians. "Bulgargeomin" has recently established contacts with Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Guinea and Ethiopia. It is negotiating now with other developing countries on doing geological prospecting, designing, mining and construction there.

COMMENTATOR NOTES 'FRENZIED' U.S. CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLAND

LD271116 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Radio Prague's Vaclav Kvasnicka comments now on the response abroad to the present developments in Poland:

Only a socialist Poland can be an independent state with inviolable frontiers and with international authority. Only socialism is now effectively guaranteeing our state and national interests. Those were the words of the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, winding up the fourth meeting of the party's Central Committee last Sunday.

Antisocialist forces in the country and abroad have been trying to misuse the current difficulties in Poland, difficulties which Edward Gierek spoke about very frankly. They see in the work stoppages in some Polish factories an opportunity to weaken the socialist system in Poland and to discredit socialism in general.

It is not necessary to underline that in this respect the enemies of socialism within Poland are going hand-in-hand with those circles in the West which systematically struggle both overtly and covertly against social progress and against easing of tension. These forces, continues Vaclav Kvasnicka, are not interested in solving the present problems in Poland. However, [words indistinct] they are not interested in socialism, and still less in the interests of the Polish people.

It is true that the American secretary of state, Edmund Muskie, said that Washington does not intend to interfere in Poland's internal affairs. But it's difficult to believe in these words when Washington and many American newspapers, in connection with the developments in Poland, have unleashed a frenzied campaign directed against the very foundations of socialism in Poland, and designed at the same time to weaken the ties of alliance and friendship which exist between Poland and the Soviet Union.

What Washington is often unprepared to admit openly is, however, disclosed by others from the ranks of NATO. (?More and more) West German newspapers are writing about feverish activities at the White House in connection with the developments in Poland.

The papers recall in this context that the leadership of the American administration is in the hands of Polish emigrants descending from the former Polish aristocracy who significantly influence U.S. policies. They have in mind the American presidential adviser Brzezinski and Secretary of State Muskie.

The aim of these forces' activities has been characterized most openly by the West German newspaper WESTFAELISCHE RUNDSCHAU. The paper calls for a change in the system existing in Poland as well as in other countries in Eastern Europe. The West German newspaper DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG, for its part, raises openly revanchist claims against Poland. The paper declares that after the Second World War Poland unlawfully deprived the German people of their eastern territory with rich, hard coal deposits.

This underlines the fact that only a socialist Poland can be an independent state with inviolable frontiers and can guarantee the interests of the Polish nation. That is why the present leadership in Poland is striving to lead the country out of a difficult situation as soon as possible, and to restore the normal rhythm of work and life.

PRODUCTION SHORTCOMINGS MUST BE DISCUSSED WITH WORKERS

AU251710 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Consistently in All Indexes"]

[Excerpts] The purpose of the "set of measures for perfecting the system of planned management," which is to become valid in January 1981, is to resolutely pass over to a higher quality in all work carried out in all activities in our entire national economy.

Many leading workers who are striving to push through progressive ideas in the management activities, and to apply far better than previously the possibilities that are being tested in the comprehensive experiment [in economy] have welcomed the new rules.

But in many places there will obviously crop up considerable problems. Some of this is indicated in this year's semi-annual balance, showing that only 50 percent of enterprises have fully coped with the qualitative aspect of plan fulfillment. The remaining 50 percent have obviously not yet realized the categorical imperative need for the efficiency of our entire economy, which depends on the honest, perfect work of every individual.

Under the viewpoint for next year it is already necessary at this time to quite realistically assess the fulfillment of this year's plan. What is frequently shown as a real boon need not be unambiguously the most acceptable value in every respect, nor need it be the most advantageous for our overall economy, and it is quite senseless to brag about progress and to compare present results with the first half year of 1979 when conditions were very bad, from fuel and power supplies up to the ensurance of raw materials and transportation and other influences. On the whole, there is apparent progress, even though not in all the desirable directions. Naturally, we are glad of partial successes.

However, very frequently the economic managements stress only the partial results, bragging about them, but modestly keeping silent about the no less important indexes that have not been fulfilled. They create for the working collective the illusion that everything is in order, thus demobilizing the development of initiative and coparticipation in the solution of shortcomings.

These are false illusions, which have nothing in common with good management. If something goes wrong in work, then surely the problem must be consistently analyzed; the management must come to the people in workships and at the machines and confer [radit se] together with them about possible ways out of the complicated situation. It is exactly in a confrontation of the management's intentions with their materialization by the workers collectives that one can find the mistakes made in the production process. It is a short-sighted policy to close one's eyes to shortcomings and to suppress them. "Eyewash" leads to nothing but a deepening of shortcomings in the production process, when they can be solved only with far greater difficulty.

From all this it follows that the party bodies and organizations in production must see to it that the matters hampering progress are discussed in front of the entire collective frankly, truthfully and openly, without any embellishment. Under the current conditions of economic development, the people's broad participation in management is an absolute must, without which no one could even think of effectively ensuring any task whatsoever. The exacting plan envisages for its materialization the utilization of thousands of ideas and suggestions, both small and large. That is why the mobilization of this creative initiative is the first prerequisite for solving many serious problems in enterprises and branches.

PARTY GROUPS ADVISED TO HEED WORKERS' SUGGESTIONS

AU261000 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "In a Businesslike and Efficient Manner"]

[Excerpts] The effort to intensify party influence on the economy, and particularly on the fulfillment of all decisive indexes of the plan and on the constant enhancement of the quality and efficiency of all work, is one of the main tasks of every communist. The important role played by party groups stands out in this connection. Their activity determines how consistently and informally the operations, workshops and all working places implement the resolutions adopted by the members meetings of basic party organizations. That is why, in planning their work, the CPCZ factory committees are more and more broadly utilizing the experience of party groups, their intimate knowledge of production problems and of the political situation within the scope of their activity.

However, the work of some committees' of CPCZ factory organizations with party groups is negligible and too formal; they do not confer enough with the party groups about the preparation of important decisions. They overlook the fact that, with the aid of these small collectives of communists, which are very well acquainted with the problems of their own working places, they could draw a wide circle of collaborators into participating in the solution of ripe questions.

Practice shows us that whenever party groups listen attentively to the suggestions and proposals of workers, engineers and technicians, when they help to bring about progressive working methods, support improvers and inventors and fight against disorder in working places, those who are not party members share in the fulfillment of production tasks and in all other duties of their own volition and with initiative. The role of party groups in this is both great and indispensable.

The knowledge acquired in party work confirms that the people's remarks, proposals and suggestions are a very clear indication of where the citizens' attention is directed and of the spheres of production and social life on which the communists' organizational and educational work must concentrate.

The party groups must not ignore warnings and complaints about shortcomings in the supplies available in shops, in mass transportation and so forth, either. Self-evidently it is not always within their power, or within the possibilities of CPCZ factory organizations or all-factory party committees, to deal with such reminders. It is, however, their duty to acquaint the responsible bodies and executives with them and to insist that they adopt a stand on them, be it through factory magazines or other communications media, that they furnish some explanation and particularly that they secure the rectification of the situation.

It would nevertheless be incorrect to address every justified reminder or complaint to higher, or even central bodies. Many shortcomings can be solved by the party organizations in cooperation with the trade unions, the Socialist Youth Union and with the economic management. This is within their power. This is within their competence and the scope of their responsibility. A significant role in this is played by the party groups, the depth of the communist party's authority among our citizens depends on their activity, on the initiative of every party group member, on the communists' sensitive approach to the people's suggestions, and on their ability not only to listen to suggestions, but at the same time also to know how to deal with them.

TRADE UNIONS URGED TO DO MORE TO AID WORKERS LEGALLY

AU261144 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Jaroslav Koca article: "They Are Deepening Legal Awareness To Make the Plants' Trade Union Organs Make Better Use of Their Legal Authority"]

[Excerpts] The trade unions are an important participant in socialist relations as regards labor legislation. As organizations of the working people they are authorized to consistently defend their legal rights and, in unity with this, to assert at the same time the interests of the socialist society. An inseparable part of their role is to extend legal assistance to members and functionaries of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, in harmony with the regulations governing legal assistance. In the basic organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement legal assistance is provided primarily by the shop stewards, more by the sector, workshop and plant committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and, since 1975, also by commissions of arbitration. If these bodies cannot settle a matter, they submit it to higher trade union organs, up to the Central Trade Union Council. Of considerable importance in this respect is the activity of district trade union councils.

Like trade union councils in other districts, the city trade union council in Plzen renders, within the city's framework, legal assistance in harmony with these tasks. The most widespread form of legal assistance rendered daily is the offering of advice, explanations and information to members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, functionaries of basic organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and members of the commissions of arbitration who approach us in writing, by telephone or personally.

An analysis of the last 3 years shows that most personal and written questions concerned issues of working contracts and classification. These cases are the most frequent subjects of disputes that have to be solved by commissions of arbitration and courts. A detailed analysis shows a serious lack of knowledge among some economic workers, and deplorably sometimes even among trade union bodies, as far as the labor code is concerned. Many cases could have been solved at the enterprise level, in the basic organization of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. A traditionally large number of questions concerns recreation leave. As a rule, cases are settled by way of conciliation or in other ways. A large number of the complaints lodged also concern the sphere of damages for work accidents and occupational diseases.

Last year a total of 81 requests for legal representation before the court were accepted [by the Plzen Trade Union Council], on the basis of the importance of the case and in view of legal possibilities. However, there is also an increasing number of requests involving a more complicated evaluation and in three cases the representation was not approved, despite good chances of success. Most cases [dealt with by the courts] concern questions relating to working contracts, compensation for damage caused by employees and damages for work accidents and occupational diseases. The number of disputes where the complaint is turned down by the court is small. This, too, bears witness to certain gaps in the approach to the solution of these questions by some economic workers. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement assists its members in an all-round manner. After all, in the last 5 years our city trade union organizations alone spent more than Kcs100,000 for legal representation of trade union members.

It is our priority task to teach the trade union bodies in the enterprises to make proper use of their legal authority so that they can be an active factor in the sphere of legal assistance. [paragraph continues]

This is a long-term task and it is, therefore, being implemented only gradually. This is borne out, for instance, by the fact that there is still a considerable number of violations of socialist legality in labor relations, frequent court proceedings including arbitration proceedings, a large number of working people's complaints and so forth. The need to heighten the legal awareness of citizens and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement more than has been done so far is also coming to the fore.

CZECH DEPUTY PREMIER ANALYZES CSSR'S DOMESTIC MARKET

AU251706 Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[Leading article by Stepan Hornik, deputy premier of the Czech Socialist Republic (CSR): "The Market and the Consumer"]

[Excerpts] Our entry into 1980 was in no way favorable as regards the satisfaction of the population's material needs. Last year's difficulties have left their mark on our possibilities for creating resources of market goods. Even our plan could not effect a reliable equilibrium between the citizen's growing incomes and the goods offered by our production, particularly since the starting basis of retail trade turnover was considerably higher than envisaged. In the CSSR its planned annual increase was a mere 2.2 percent, although in the preceding years it had achieved double that rate. The "gap" thus created could be filled only by the prompt adjustment of the suppliers and by their offering goods over and above the planned tasks. But the beginning of the year rather indicated that here contracts would remain unconcluded [nedohodnute], particularly in nonfood goods.

Nevertheless, contrary to these pessimistic prognoses, the results achieved since the beginning of the year have yielded a number of positive trends. In the first half year the CSSR's retail turnover increased 5.4 percent, that is, substantially at a "normal" rate, compared with past years. The food sphere showed a 3.1 percent, and the nonfood sphere a 7.5 percent increase.

The market equilibrium was able to improve also because the citizens' monetary incomes, which increased by more than Kcs8 billion, had not achieved the planned annual rate. However, the share of the population's so-called materialized monetary expenditures increased, compared with the plan, and this indicates the tendency to buy.

Thus, even despite certain necessary changes in the development to date, the people are by no means satisfied. Although the supplies are, on the whole, considerable, the consumer is all too often dissatisfied when making purchases. This is primarily because the goods structure is unbalanced and the range of products insufficient to meet the demand.

Food still represents almost half of the citizens' purchases. Most of it they buy every day, thus checking in practice on the preparedness of our trade, on the prompt delivery by our production forces and on the quality of goods.

The range of products offered was, on the whole, balanced, particularly in food for everyday use. The dairy products showed a considerable improvement and we must particularly appreciate this.

This year we had greater difficulties in meat deliveries than in the preceding years. The CSR's delivery plan could only count on a 0.6 percent increase, compared with last year. [paragraph continues]

Bearing in mind the number of supply days and the increased population, we practically had to make do with the same per capita consumption as last year.

The limited resources follow from the demand that we ensure the production of slaughter cattle from our own fodder base. So far we have not succeeded in this. The lasting difficulties in the first quarter of this year were due to the failure to fulfill the planned procurement of slaughter cattle. Although now the situation has improved, we still cannot count on the market receiving more meat than set by the plan.

Consumers have this year bought far more cotton and wool textile goods, bed linen, furniture and so forth than during the same period last year--the increase amounts to about 10 percent and more.

Our households are relatively well equipped, even compared with households in the richest countries. Our trade would therefore like to offer equipment and appliances for replacement rather than for further supplementation, but this requires functionally more perfect, new models; more reliable products; and attractive designs and consumer services, because only thus can a consumer be convinced that it is worthwhile exchanging old things for new. However, the producers--particularly the producers of engineering goods--are not yet fully prepared for this, and the citizen therefore delays his purchases. This is also testified to by the growing amounts of banked money. It is not a good testimonial for our trade and our production.

The political connotations of all this for our everyday life are only too significant. It is exactly because of shortages that the negative phenomena emerge on the market and among the buyers. It is not sufficient to condemn them. Only one solution exists here: Trade must be able to--and should--offer what the consumer demands.

'BOUNTIFUL' GRAIN HARVEST REPORTED IN WEST SLOVAKIA

AU260922 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 Aug 80 p 3

["West Slovak Farmers' Results Better Than in 1974; Fulfilled Hopes'--Michal Stefanek interview with Eng Jaromir Algayer, director of the regional agricultural administration in Bratislava, given at the conclusion of the grain harvest in the West Slovak region]

[Excerpts] [Question] You started this year's harvest with high aims. Were your expectations fulfilled?

[Answer] Today I can say without hesitation that our hopes for a bountiful harvest have been realized. On the whole we expect the harvest in the region to yield 5.3-5.4 tons of grain per hectare--that is, about 0.2 tons more than in the 1974 record year. The actual grain harvest [in the region]--compared with the plan--has been exceeded by 70,000-75,000 tons.

[Question] Thus the crop is good, but what about quality? Can you name the best districts?

[Answer] The quality of grain is also excellent. That is attested to by the fact that we will fulfill the tasks as regards the production of wheat for human consumption as well as the production of malt barley.

As for the best districts, one can say that all West Slovak districts fulfilled the preharvest expectations.

REPORTAGE, COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT BY ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA

Honecker Toast

AU251600 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Aug 80 p 3

[Toast by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, at a dinner given in honor of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda on 22 Aug in the Berlin State Council building, entitled: "Joint Struggle Must Secure Peace for the World"]

[Text] Dear Comrade President Kenneth Kaunda, dear Comrade Betty Kaunda, Dear Zambian guests, comrades and friends: Permit me, dear Comrade President, to cordially welcome you, your esteemed wife and your entourage again to the socialist GDR. It fills us with deep joy to see such a good friend and great liberation fighter as Comrade President Kenneth Kaunda in our midst.

We welcome in you, dear Comrade Kenneth Kaunda, an unshakable leader in the anticolonial liberation struggle of the Zambian people and the peoples of Africa. You enjoy high renown in the GDR as an outstanding statesman pledged to peace and social progress. Your political and moral fame far transcends the borders of Zambia and Africa.

Our people have been linked in solidarity with your country's struggle for independence for a long time. Our people harbor sincere sympathy and support for the present struggle of your people for a humanist society free from exploitation. During my visit last year I was able to see the remarkable success reached by Zambia in the face of continuous aggression and attempts at blackmail on behalf of the South African racists. We know very well the high merits of the United National Independence Party which is headed by you, dear comrade Kenneth Kaunda. In the organization of the United Nations, in the nonaligned movement and in the Organization for African Unity, Zambia's voice is esteemed and carries weight.

Dear Comrade President, I recall with pleasure our meeting and the useful talks at Lusaka. I wish to state with satisfaction that these talks and the agreements concluded then have provided significant incentives for our friendly relations and the cooperation between our parties, states and peoples. The balance which we can draw today is a successful one.

Your present visit to the GDR, Comrade President, is an expression of our traditional friendship. Permit me to express my conviction that at the same time it serves to further deepen in a continuous way our multisided cooperation. The ideals and goals linking us in the struggle for a new world, for peace, security and a truly human society provide a solid basis for this.

Dear Comrade President, dear Zambian friends: Jointly with our socialist fraternal countries, the majority of the nonaligned states and all peace-loving forces, we proceed from the premise that peace must be at the center of the world politics. It will become more stable and firmer if we succeed in safeguarding a real turn towards disarmament on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. The constructive and realistic proposals submitted by the Political Consultative Committee of the participating states of the Warsaw Pact to all peoples and governments in May of this year aim at just this goal.

The plans of those imperialist and hegemonistic circles must be thwarted who are working for a switch from detente towards confrontation. This can be reached if all peace-loving forces unite their efforts, if they advocate even more decisively international security, swift and real measures for the dampening of the arms race and for disarmament.

The GDR has welcomed the Soviet Union's readiness to enter into negotiations on medium-range missiles even before the ratification of SALT II, provided that the American forward-based nuclear systems would be discussed at the same time. This could pave the way towards an abolition of the barrier set up by NATO's Brussels decision, against the people's will for detente and disarmament. A timely ratification of SALT II is indispensable for this. In our view, the European conference on disarmament and military detente has an important role to play. An agreement on its convocation should be reached at the forthcoming Madrid meeting of the CSCE participating states.

Dear Comrade President, dear Zambian friends: Since our visit to your country, further changes have come about on the African Continent, especially in the south of Africa. We welcome the victory of the people of Zimbabwe and we wish them and their government under Robert Mugabe success in consolidating their national independence and in developing the country. Favorable conditions for peace and cooperation among the free states in the south of Africa have come about by Zimbabwe's accession to independence.

The liberation of Namibia is now moving into the foreground of attention. We will continue to give SWAPO, as legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, active political, diplomatic and material support. In this connection, we condemn the maneuvers of the racist regime and its close friends. They are trying to gain time in order to force a neocolonial solution upon the Namibian people, outside the United Nations and without SWAPO participation.

Together with our African friends we regard the elimination of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, this misanthropic system and dangerous hotbed of aggression, as a task that is becoming more and more urgent. We stand in solidarity at the side of the African National Congress (ANC) in its difficult and tedious struggle.

As you know, the NATO countries are continuing unabated their military and economic cooperation with South Africa. They collaborate not least in the nuclear sector. To this must be added the establishment of new imperialist military bases in the northeast of the continent and the endeavors to extend NATO's sphere of action to Africa. All this demonstrates the double-dealing of those imperialist politicians who constantly talk about "decolonialization" and "stability" on the African Continent.

We are convinced that the African peoples will win new victories in removing racism and overcoming neocolonialism. They will continue to have faithful allies in the socialist states.

Dear Zambian comrades and friends: The liberated peoples of Africa have taken up the struggle against starvation, poverty, illness and ignorance which above all requires coping with economic backwardness.

You, Comrade President, expressed the ardent wish and will of the peoples at the Havana summit conference of the nonaligned states when you said: "Our children do not want bullets--they want food. We do not want swords--we want plows. What we need are the weapons of progress." It is precisely in this sense that we conceive the food program which you, dear Comrade Kaunda, have initiated in Zambia.

We share the concern expressed by many African statesmen, especially at the recent OAU summit meeting in Lagos, over the complicated economic and social problems in their countries. Indeed they are not merely the legacy of centuries of foreign exploitation and national oppression but are being brought to the fore again and again by neocolonialism. We advocate a new order of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis. This is a decisive precondition for overcoming backwardness and poverty.

Dear comrades and friends: We declare again that we support the nonaligned states' movement with genuine sympathy. This movement has become an influential factor in world politics and is making an important contribution toward the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, national independence as well as the achievement of economic relations based upon equal rights.

Our active solidarity belongs to the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, whether in Africa or on other continents. We follow with great sympathy the struggle of the progressive forces of Latin America and the developments following the victory of the people's revolution in Nicaragua. We stand at the side of the democratic forces of Bolivia who are making great sacrifices in order to defend and carry on the democratic process. We resolutely condemn the machinations of those forces who trample on democracy, freedom and the people's sovereign right to self-determination.

We are against the constant disregard of the UN resolutions and decisions by Israel, as once again expressed by its annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem. Undoubtedly the proclamation of Jerusalem as capital of Israel is bound to aggravate the situation. It is a challenge to all those who are in favor of a comprehensive, just and permanent settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Dear Comrade Kenneth Kaunda, dear Zambian friends: We welcome your visit to our country at a time when the working people are preparing the 10th SED Congress. With great verve and creative energy we are acting in accordance with the slogan: "The best for the tenth party congress! Everything for the welfare of the people!" Owing to the accomplishments of the workers, cooperative peasants and the intelligentsia, the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil is developing steadily and dynamically. The firm foundation of our successes is our close fraternal alliance with the USSR and the GDR's incorporation in the community of socialist states.

Even after our first talks it can be noted that your visit to the GDR and our exchange of opinions will contribute toward further strengthening the bonds of friendship between our parties, states and peoples. We are looking forward with joy to our further trustful and friendly cooperation.

Dear Comrade Kenneth Kaunda, dear Comrade Betty Kaunda, esteemed guests: I ask you to raise your glass with me and to drink to:

--The well-being of Comrade Kenneth Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia and president of the United National Independence Party, and of his esteemed wife;

--To the friendship, solidarity and cooperation of our parties, states and peoples;

--To the further successful progress of the Republic of Zambia in building a happy life for the Zambian people;

--To new successes in the struggle for peace;

--To the well-being of all Zambian comrades and friends present here!

Kaunda Toast

LD230118 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1957 GMT 22 Aug 80

[Text] Berlin--"I regard my present visit to your country as a happy continuation of the solidarity between Zambia and the German Democratic Republic created by us in Lusaka.

"Since your visit to Zambia many of my compatriots have come to the German Democratic Republic, and all of them have brought back happy memories and cordial feelings of true friendship which unites our two countries". This was stated by Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia in a toast on Friday at a dinner given in his honor by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

He added: "My delegation and I myself have come to the German Democratic Republic because my country has been maintaining close relations with it for many years. We have many human values in common. We are collaborating in international bodies for joint concerns, in order to promote mankind's fight for the creation of a more just world. We are joining our forces in economic and technological cooperation, in order to use jointly experiences and resources for the improvement of the lives of our peoples."

The Zambian president went on: "Our cooperation is perfect since we are cooperating in all five areas of human endeavors, jointly use our experiences and are developing solid relations. To mutual advantage we must further develop our nations in the political, economic, social and cultural as well as scientific-technological areas, as well as further develop the defense and security of our national interests and those of all progressive people. We have come to the German Democratic Republic, to this part of Europe, to expand and deepen our knowledge in a wide range of areas of mutual cooperation.

"This direct experience is necessary in order to mobilize our political and economic resources for the purposeful and speedy social development of our country. Wherever we have friends who think, speak and act like us, we must develop and strengthen our connections with them, and in this pursue these common interests. This is the only way in which we must seek peace and unity in this world."

Turning to Erich Honecker, Dr Kaunda said: "I should like to take this opportunity of presenting to the German Democratic Republic and your people under your wise leadership and excellence, our greetings for the loyal friendship and unshakeable support of the Zambian people during this extremely difficult time in the history of our country.

"You and your esteemed people have made personal sacrifices by having defended us against powerful forces of oppression, imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, fascism and apartheid.

"Apart from Namibia, all the territories having common borders with our country have been successful in their fight for liberation. Today they are free and independent nations. These new countries which emerged from the South African liberation fight are invaluable allies in the continuation of the fight for self-determination in our part of the world.

"Please allow me, Comrade Chairman, to take this opportunity in your magnificent country in order to express to you the thanks and deep appreciation of the people of Zambia, the people of southern Africa, that is, the people of our continent, for the material and moral support of the socialist countries for our liberation fight."

Concerning Zambia's development, the president said: "Our party is firmly resolved to see to it that the people and all our institutions pay the highest possible attention and give the greatest care to the development of the national economy. The victorious liberation fight by our neighbors, the states of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe has created favorable conditions for special efforts by our economy. We now have to learn quickly to defend our own humanistic socialist revolution and the revolution of our new neighbors by increasing our economic production.

"Our revolution has two directions: the fight against capitalism and its manifestations such as imperialism, colonialism, neccolonialism, Zionism, racism, fascism and apartheid on the one hand, and the fight against poverty and its concomitant manifestations such as hunger, sickness, ignorance, crime, corruption and exploitation of man by man, on the other.

"Previously our fight was devoted towards the former direction, and not only in our country but also in the whole region. Now we are concentrating on the latter objectives."

In conclusion the Zambian president said: "Our new economic movement in agriculture, mining and industry is launching our new party program for the systematic and scientific fight against poverty and its concomitant guises.

"We regard proven revolutionaries such as you, Comrade Chairman, the SED and the revolutionary people of your country as among our most important allies in our new fight for humanistic, socialist and economic liberation. Your friendship has proved itself over the years as useful, honest, good and upright. We should like to expand the volume of our trade and our cooperation."

Completion of Talks

LD232214 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 23 Aug 80

[Text] Berlin, 23 Aug--The official talks between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia, were continued and completed on Saturday at the State Council building. During the talks, in which the two countries' delegations took part, Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda expressed great satisfaction over the results of the exchange of opinions.

Both statesmen came out for the further development and deepening of bilateral relations on the basis of the joint struggle for peace and international security, for arms limitation and disarmament and for social progress.

They ascertained with satisfaction that since the visit of a GDR party and state delegation under the leadership of Erich Honecker in February 1979 to Zambia, the cooperation between the two friendly parties, states and people had been significantly developed in the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres. They agreed on specific steps for the further development of cooperation between the two states.

President Kaunda paid tribute to the GDR people's achievements in preparation for the 10th SED Congress and in the further successful creation of a developed socialist society. He expressed great appreciation for the GDR's foreign policy which is directed at strengthening world peace, international security and detente. Through its active solidarity the GDR is giving valuable aid to the people fighting for their liberation and social progress and against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism and racism.

Erich Honecker expressed the GDR people's high evaluation of the Zambian Republic's successes in strengthening national independence and in developing the country. The United National Independence Party has played an important role in this. The GDR feels great appreciation for the Zambian people's contribution to the final elimination of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa and their contribution to peace and security in that region and the entire world.

Both statesmen put forward unanimous views on basic questions of international relations.

They expressed particular support for further strengthening joint action by all of the world's forces of goodwill directed at peace, disarmament, freedom, national independence and social progress.

The talks proceeded in a friendly and trusting atmosphere.

Both sides agreed on a joint communique which is to be published.

As a result of the negotiations a program was signed, among other things on long-term economic, and scientific-technical cooperation between the governments of the GDR and the Republic of Zambia as well as an air traffic agreement between the governments of both states, in the presence of Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda. The agreements were signed by Oskar Fischer, GDR minister for foreign affairs, and W.M. Chakulya, the Zambian foreign minister.

Communique Issued

AU261310 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[Communique issued in Berlin on 24 August at the conclusion of the state visit paid by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda to the GDR 22-24 Aug]

[Text] The president of the Republic of Zambia, Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, paid a state visit to the GDR 22-24 Aug 80 at the invitation of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman.

This fresh meeting between the two statesmen and the extremely cordial reception given to Dr Kenneth David Kaunda and the dignitaries accompanying him developed into an impressive demonstration of the friendship and close cooperation between the SED and the United National Independence Party (UNIP), between the GDR and the Republic of Zambia, the roots of which go back to the beginnings of the Zambian people's national liberation struggle.

The president of the Republic of Zambia Dr Kenneth David Kaunda laid a wreath at the memorial for the victims of fascism, and visited sights in the GDR's capital.

During his visit to the GDR, the high guest visited Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk. In the Muencheberg enterprise, Dr Kenneth David Kaunda learned about the development of the GDR's agriculture.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda briefed each other on the internal development in their states, discussed the further shaping of the friendly relations existing between the GDR and the Republic of Zambia, and expounded extensively on problems of the international situation.

The talks, which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality, trust and mutual understanding, were attended on the GDR side by: Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and council of Ministers chairman: Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary: Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary: Oskar Fischer, minister for foreign affairs: Heinz Kuhrig, minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs: Friedmar Clausnitzer, deputy foreign trade minister: Horst Koehler, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR in the Republic of Zambia: Wolfgang Bayerlacher, department chief in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

On the side of the Republic of Zambia, the following persons took part: R.C. Kamanga, UNIP Central Committee member, chairman of the Committee for Political and Legal Affairs: and H. Mulemba, UNIP Central Committee member, member of parliament, chairman of the Committee for Cadre and Disciplinary affairs. [paragraph continues]

Also taking part were K. Makasa, UNIP Central Committee member, chairman of the Committee for Rural Development; R. Chisupa, parliament member, minister of commerce, industry and foreign trade; K.S.K. Musokotwane, member of parliament, minister of finance; W.W. Chakulya, member of parliament, minister for foreign affairs; U.G. Mwila, member of parliament, minister for agriculture and water development; D.C. Mulaisho, personal adviser to the president for economic questions; J.C.M. Punabantu, personal adviser to the president for press affairs; S.G. Kazunga, personal adviser to the president for administrative affairs; and S.X.Q. Shimabala, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Zambia to the GDR.

I.

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, briefed his guest on the major initiative of the GDR people in preparing the 10th SED congress, which is characterized by the determination to continue to build the developed socialist society in the GDR, on the basis of the things already achieved. The President of the Republic of Zambia Dr Kenneth David Kaunda praised the important successes of the GDR people, led by the SED, in further shaping the advanced socialist society. He highly praised the GDR's foreign policy aimed at consolidating world peace, international security and detente and stressed the GDR's active solidarity with people who were struggling for liberation and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

Dr Kenneth David Kaunda expounded on the struggle of the Zambian people led by UNIP for the consolidation of their national independence, against colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racism and apartheid. He expounded on the efforts undertaken by Zambia to develop the economy and implement its 10-year program for the development of agriculture as well as for the further improvement of the people's standard of livin..

Erich Honecker expressed the GDR people's high regard for the successes of the Zambian Republic in consolidating the country's national independence and development and underlined the important role played in this respect by UNIP. He expressed his great admiration for the great contribution being made by the Zambian people for the final elimination of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa, for peace and security in that region and the whole world.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda note with satisfaction that since the GDR party and state delegation's visit to the Republic of Zambia in 1979, political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations between the friendly parties, states and peoples have developed significantly. They agree to further consolidate and deepen their mutually advantageous cooperation based on the joint struggle for peace and international security, arms limitation and disarmament, the defense and consolidation of independence and social progress.

The following documents were signed during Dr Kenneth David Kaunda's visit to the GDR: the program on long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Government of the GDR and the Government of the Republic of Zambia, and the agreement between the GDR Government and the Government of the Republic of Zambia on air traffic and further accords.

II.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda noted with great concern that the international situation remains complicated and strained. More than ever they feel it is necessary to unite the efforts of all peace-loving forces against the arms race policy and striving for military superiority and also to oppose resolutely the expansion of existing and creation of new military alliances, bases and zones of operation.

Both sides stress the determination of their parties, states and peoples to work jointly with all peace forces of the world towards the still broader development in the 1980's of the struggle for peace, freedom, national liberation and social progress. They most strongly advocate multiplying the fruits of detente, and continuing the dialogue between East and West, south and north.

In the joint conviction that a continuation of the arms race is one of the main dangers threatening peace and international security, and at the same time inhibiting all peoples' economic and social progress, the two sides support all effective measures aimed at ending the arms race, limiting armaments and at disarmament, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. They discussed the proposals of the Warsaw Pact member states of May 1980 and express their hope that this timely initiative will further advance the struggle for peace and detente.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda underline their view that the financial, material and intellectual means and resources released by disarmament measures should be used for the all-round development of nations.

Both sides attribute great importance to the ratification of SALT II.

They advocate early, constructive solutions at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda attribute great importance to the consistent and full implementation of the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act as a long-term program of peaceful coexistance. They advocate positive, concrete results at the Madrid meeting which would have a favorable effect on the international situation.

The GDR and the Republic of Zambia regard respect for and protection of the inviolability of borders as indispensable prerequisites for peace and security in the world and for the development of good-neighborly relations between states.

III.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda dedicated great attention to the development on the African Continent. They note with satisfaction that the sacrificial struggle of the peoples of Africa, which has lasted for decades, led to historically significant political and social changes.

The GDR and the Republic of Zambia welcomed the victory of the people of Zimbabwe after many years of struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism. They advocate the consolidation of Zimbabwe's national independence and declare their determination to support the government of free Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe in its struggle to overcome the difficult legacy of the colonialist-racist regime and to develop the country.

Both sides resolutely support the complete, unrestricted independence of Namibia. They call for the implementation of the UN resolutions on an immediate end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and condemn the continuing policy of obstruction by the South African regime and its backers. Both sides support the proposal by the UN Namibia Council to hold an international conference in support of the struggle by the Namibian people and their legitimate representative, the South-West African People's Organization.

The GDR and the Republic of Zambia regard the abolition of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, a system that is hostile to man and a hotbed of aggression in Africa, as being urgently needed. They condemn the imperialist states' close cooperation with this regime and advocate the convening, in accordance with the UN resolution, of an international conference on sanctions against the racist regime.

They will continue in the future to give solidarity aid to the patriotic forces of the Republic of South Africa and their legitimate representative, the African National Congress, in the struggle against oppression and apartheid, for democracy and freedom.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda most strongly condemn the South African racist regime's acts of aggression against the Zambian Republic and the People's Republic of Angola. They regard them as an attack on the independence of the peoples of these states and what they have peacefully developed as well as a threat to international peace and security in the world.

Dr Kenneth David Kaunda reported on the contribution by the front-line states to support the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Erich Honecker praised the activities of these states and assured them of the GDR's continuing militant solidarity.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda express their concern at the setting up of new imperialist military bases on African territory and the increasing attempts to use African territory as a military deployment region.

The GDR and the Republic of Zambia underscore the significant role played by the Organization of African Unity in the struggle against racism, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the preservation and consolidation of peace in Africa, for economic and social progress as well as in developing inter-African cooperation. They regard the decisions of the 17th summit meeting of the heads of state of the states and governments of the OAU member states as a constructive contribution to stepping up the further national, social and economic liberation struggle on the continent.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda discussed the strained situation in Southeast Asia and in the Middle and Near East. True to the policy of peace, the peaceful settling of conflicts and anti-imperialist solidarity, they support the efforts of the peoples of Southeast Asia to live in an atmosphere of peace, stability and cooperation and speak out in favor of all issues in relations between countries of this region being settled by way of negotiation, and without external interference in the spirit of the universally recognized principal of peaceful coexistence.

The GDR and the Republic of Zambia advocate a political solution of the situation that has arisen in Afghanistan. They believe that such a settlement must guarantee a complete end to every form of external interference which is directed against Afghanistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity and its social progress.

The GDR and the Republic of Zambia endorse a comprehensive political settlement in the Near East which sould come about with the direct participation of all interested parties, including the Arab people of Palestine in the form of their legitimate representative--the PLO--and be based on respect for the legitimate interests of all states and peoples in the Near East. They condemn the Israeli decision on Jerusalem as an attempt at annexation and demand an end to all activities directed against a comprehensive political settlement in the Near East.

Both sides welcome the successes achieved by the revolutionary democratic forces in Latin America in the struggle for social liberation and democratic rights. They strongly support the right of the peoples of that region to self-determination and noninterference in their internal affairs and resolutely condemn the machinations designed to violate these basic principles. They declare their solidarity with the struggle of the Bolivian people. Both sides advocate that the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations be enhanced further so as to improve the international climate. [paragraph continues]

They call for the strict observance of the universal principles laid down in the UN Charter and stress their readiness to implement these consistently.

The GDR and the Republic of Zambia endorse the restructuring of international economic relations on an equal and democratic basis and oppose attempts to misuse international economic relations as a cold-war weapon and weapon of political blackmail. They support the efforts of the African states and peoples toward economic development, completing their anticolonial liberation, overcoming the colonial legacy and taking an equal place in international economic relations. They welcome the decision of the first summit conference of OAU heads of state and governments on economic issues and stress the importance of the 11th special UN General Assembly session on economic questions. Both sides express their determination to help the UN special session to contribute toward progress in equal international cooperation.

Erich Honecker assessed the movement of nonaligned states as a positive force and influential factor in international affairs and stressed that the GDR will always be a reliable partner of the nonaligned states in the international struggle for peace and social progress.

IV.

Erich Honecker and Dr Kenneth David Kaunda voiced deep satisfaction at their successful and trust-filled talks. They regard the state visit by Dr Kenneth David Kaunda to the GDR as an eminent climax in the relations between their parties, states and peoples. They are in agreement that continuing the top-level contacts helps to increase the mutual trust between the two peoples and consolidates and deepens the friendly relations between the two countries which are based on anti-imperialism.

The president of the Republic of Zambia, Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, expressed his gratitude for the cordial reception and great hospitability accorded to him and his suite during the visit to the GDR.

He conveyed an invitation to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to pay an official visit to the Republic of Zambia. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. Berlin 21 August 1980

LEADERS GREET ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

AU252011 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Aug 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the following congratulatory telegram on the Romanian national holiday:

On the 36th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution and of the social and national liberation we convey to you, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the State Council, government and people of the Socialist Republic of Romania most cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council, Council of Ministers and people.

During the years of the people's power the Romanian working people, under the proven leadership of their communist party, in beneficial cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, have accomplished impressive achievements in building the new social order. [paragraph continues]

The Romanian fraternal people are industriously and with great initiative implementing the decisions of the 12th congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The GDR people sincerely rejoice at this successful development.

We were able to note with satisfaction at the recent meeting between party-state delegations of our countries that the relations of close friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the GDR and the Romanian Socialist Republic are deepening further and are yielding good fruit. We are expressing our conviction that the friendly talks and stipulations conducted and concluded on that occasion will impart new incentives to the comprehensive development of fraternal cooperation between our two friendly parties, states and peoples. Bearing the responsibility for peace and the well-being of their peoples, the GDR and the Romanian Socialist Republic, together with the other fraternal states, will continue to work for lessening the international tension, for arms limitation and for disarmament.

We wish you and the Romanian fraternal people great new successes in the further fashioning of the comprehensively developed socialist society, in the common struggle for the strengthening of socialism and for safeguarding peace.

Dear comrades, accept at the same time our best wishes for good health, creative vigor and personal well-being.

HONECKER TOASTS GDR OLYMPICS TEAM AT BERLIN BALL

AU251823 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Aug 80 p 2

["Erich Honecker Toast at Olympics Ball in Berlin on 21 August: Far-Reaching Significance of the Moscow Olympic Games"]

[Text] Dear athletes, dear friends and comrades: I most cordially welcome you, dear participants in the Olympic games, at this festive gathering, our traditional Olympics ball. You have honorably represented our socialist homeland at the Moscow summer Olympics as you did previously at the Lake Placid winter Olympics. We are glad to have you as guests in the Palace of the Republic here tonight.

At the same time our cordial greetings to to the meritorious trainers, sports scientists, sports physicians and sports officials. They go to all those who have contributed to the great successes of our Olympic teams.

The Olympic flame in Moscow's Lenin Stadium went out only a few weeks ago, but all of us still have the enthralling contests vivid in our minds. It may be noted with good reason that the 22d Moscow Olympic Games have become an historic landmark of the Olympic movement. For the first time a socialist country, the USSR, has become the host to the great international sports festival. In the capital of the Soviet country the games took place in a spirit of fairness and aspirations to top performance, of friendship, mutual respect and equality of rights, in the spirit of peace. It became evident in an impressive manner that the Olympic ideas have found a good home under socialism.

The Boycott Policy Failed To Achieve Its Objective

At my recent meeting on the Crimea with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, we agreed that the Moscow Olympic games have been an instructive event in many respects. [paragraph continues]

As is well known there had been quite a few attempts at having the exacerbation of the international situation that has been caused by the confrontation course of certain imperialist quarters, first and foremost in the United States and the FRG, affect the games. The grandiose success of the days of Moscow is of far-reaching positive significance for the future of sport which links peoples and for the interests of detente. Sports preserve and promote the humanistic cause of the Olympic movement and serve all those who desir[illegible] peace and the peaceful living together of peoples. (strong applause)

For 2 weeks the Moscow games enthralled hundreds of million people throughout the world. The citizens of our republic also witnessed the dramatic and high-class sports contests by means of television, radio and the press. Attempts were made in some Western regions to keep from the people the most important sports event of this year. As is well known, this was to no avail. The excellent work of the GDR sports journalists has also elicited response and won recognition in this respect.

The GDR's International Renown Reaffirmed

Dear friends and comrades: Many world class performances were achieved in the beautiful and modern contest facilities of the Soviet capital. Naturally we are particularly pleased with the excellent results of the GDR Olympic team. Dear participants in the Olympic games, our people placed great hopes in you and you have honorably fulfilled them. (strong applause) Like our winter athletes at Lake Placid a few months earlier you have done a great deal to impressively affirm the international renown of the GDR as a great sports nation.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, Council of Ministers and of our entire people I would like most cordially to thank you and all the others who have a share in these significant successes of our sports movement. (strong applause) Today the best among you were able to accept high state awards. We once more congratulate you from the bottom of our hearts on these awards. (prolonged applause)

You are fulfilling the slogan: There is no victory without a struggle. The path to the winner's rostrum is not easy for anybody. You have displayed great assiduity in training as well as discipline and personal dedication. You had reliable friends and helpers on that road. You mentioned yourselves how much this meant to you. It is precisely when participating in international contests that you will always feel the close affiliation with the socialist homeland, our GDR. It is self-confidence and strength that grow cut of this.

We Are Jointly Preparing the Party Congress

Our sight is now aimed at new goals. We are approaching the 10th SED Congress and, like all working people, the athletes are also making their contribution to its preparation. The German Gymnasts and Athletes Association, in proven cooperation with the other social forces, will also in the future--we are convinced of this--measure up to all requirements.

I wish joyful hours to all those present at this Olympic ball.

Let us raise a glass and drink to our Olympics team, to new successes for the glory of sports and the honor of our GDR. (prolonged strong applause)

BRIEFS

SOLIDARITY SHIPMENT FOR MOZAMBIQUE--An extensive solidarity shipment from the GDR for the people of Mozambique was turned over in Maputo to Jorge Rebelo, member of the permanent Political Committee and Central Committee secretary of the Frelimo Party, who praised the GDR's internationalistic aid. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Aug 80 p 2 AU]

BUDAPEST REPORTS POLISH SITUATION, JAGIELSKI TALKS IN GDANSK

LD262106 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Correspondent Szabolcs Szilagyi Warsaw dispatch]

[Excerpts] The public mood in Poland today is characterized by anxious anticipation and hopes of an emergence from the grave crisis situation. In a significant part of the country work continues without obstructions, under calm conditions. All kinds of basic supplies can be called normal, and the hoarding fever still in evidence last week has also abated. The village populations and the voluntary work groups helping them, under weather conditions which have today again become encouraging, are striving to harvest the bread-grain. Up to now 42 percent of the crop has been brought in. The sugar factories are also carrying out crop-drying, because of the high moisture content of the beets.

At the center of interest, and naturally also in the reports of all the Polish communication agencies, attention is focused primarily on the events taking place in the coastal towns. According to Warsaw radio news, strikes in the tricity region of Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot are still going on. Production plants are not working, ports are at a standstill and so is urban traffic. Private vehicle traffic on the streets is diminishing and gasoline reserves are fast running out. Long-distance trains arrive late. The basic food supply is adequate and community services are functioning.

During the night the chairman of the Gdansk Voivodship council made an announcement on radio, in which he warned about the worsening situation. He spoke with recognition of the workers of numerous enterprises who are honorably carrying out trade, community and health services. The situation has not changed either in Szczecin and its environs. Work is at a standstill in many plants, including some on which the town's functioning depends. It is becoming more and more difficult to transport children to school from the town's outskirts because trams and buses are not working.

The plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions is still going in Warsaw. According to opinions expressed here, the fundamental cause of the current crisis is that serious mistakes have occurred in economic policy and the development of socialist democracy has slowed down, or even relapsed. Trade unions are now coming in for sharp criticism because they are not satisfactorily fulfilling their basic task; representation of the workers' interests. According to a report by the Polish news agency, the participants have taken the stand that the trade unions should take part in all decisions affecting workers, and that in the draft bill under preparation guarantees should be given for trade unions to be able to express their views on the leadership's decisions.

In the Gdansk shipyard discussions have been going on without interruption since 1100 this morning between the representatives of the government committee, headed by Deputy Premier Jagielski, and the strikers. Up to the time of my dispatch no further information has been received about the outcome of these discussions.

LEADERS GREET CEAUSESCU ON ROMANIAN NATIONAL DAY

AU251732 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Aug 80 p 4

["Message From Hungarian Leaders on the Holiday of Romania"]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest:

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian people and ourselves, we send you, the RCP Central Committee and the State Council, Government and peoples of the Socialist Republic of Romania, cordial greetings and comradely good wishes on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the liberation of Romania, the country's national holiday.

The Hungarian people follow with attention and value with appreciation the results attained by the working people of neighboring Romania in socialist construction.

It is our sincere intention to develop in every area of life, on the basis of mutual interests and in conformity with the Hungarian-Romanian friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty, cooperation between the MSZMP and the RCP and relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania. We are convinced that, pursuing this path, we serve equally our peoples' interests and the cause of socialism, social progress, international security and peace.

We attach great importance to the development of cooperation between our countries and to strengthening the unity of the fraternal socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA and on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On your great national holiday, we wish you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and all the working people of Romania, further results in building an advanced socialist society. We are certain that our joint efforts contribute to further strengthening friendship between our peoples and to enhancing cooperation between our countries.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic.

PLO SPOKESMAN ABU MAYZAR RECEIVED BY BERECZ

LD252224 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 25 Aug 80

[Text] Budapest, 25 Aug (MTI)--'Abd al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar, member of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee, official spokesman of the PLO and president of the Palestinian Peace and Solidarity Council, has paid a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Peace Council and the Hungarian Solidarity Committee.

Abu Mayzar met Mrs. Nandor Sebestyen, president of the Hungarian Peace Council, and leaders of the Peace Council and the Solidarity Committee. He also met leaders of the Cathloic priests' Peace Committee and representatives of Hungarian mass media. During his talks here the PLO leader briefed his hosts about the Middle East situation, Palestinian question and the further prospects of developing Hungarian-Palestinian relations.

Abu Mayzar was received by Dr. Janos Berecz, members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and head of its Foreign Department, as well as by Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Garai.

Report on Press Conference

AU261427 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Aug 80 p 2

["Budapest Press Briefing by PLO Spokesman on the Jerusalem Issue, Egypt's Isolation and the Iranian Revolution"]

[Text] 'Abd al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar, PLO spokesman and Executive Committee member, met with Hungarian journalists at a press conference Saturday [23 August] morning. We are reviewing below the most important topics raised at the press conference and his answers to the questions posed.

[Question] Israel declared integrated Jerusalem its capital recently. Do you feel that this is creating a new political situation in the Middle East?

[Answer] The resolution of the Israeli Knesset concerning Jerusalem is very dangerous. Not only does it violate the UN resolutions pertaining to the city's status, but also uncovers the fact that Israel is striving to annex additional territories and shows that, no matter what they say in Washington and Cairo, the purpose of the Camp David agreements is the sanctioning of Israeli aggression and not the assertion of Palestinian rights. In addition, the Jerusalem resolution is another new factor in the domain of the Middle East problems--which is complex enough as it is--namely its religious connotation, for, to be sure, there are also Muslim and Christian holy places in Jerusalem. Not a single Arab country or Arab leader could remain silent now. However, it must be said that, although some firm and tough statements have been made, the PLO does not regard Arab reaction to date as satisfactory. We are endeavoring to mobilize every means of the Arab world against the resolution, including means arising from the oil wealth. Any statement that disregards the fact that the Begin government's resolution could not have been made without the continuing support of the United States is an incomplete statement. The reaction of Saudi Arabia must be judged from the viewpoint that not a single Arab leader can remain neutral now. The Saudi Arabian leaders are required to adopt a firm and tough position on the Jerusalem issue, because only thus can they retain their credibility in the eyes of their own people and claim any significant role among the Arab people.

[Question] It has been said that Prince Fahd's appeal is merely a lifebuoy for As-Sadat, to enable him to rejoin the Arab world despite the peace treaty concluded with Israel.

[Answer] The Egyptian leadership has become completely entangled in the Camp David imbroglio. It is clear that one cannot speak of peace agreements, but only of a significant aspect of comprehensive U.S. strategy of which the Egyptian leadership is only the executor. The Saudi Arabia statement was no lifebuoy for Cairo, because Cairo has become completely isolated both on an Arab level and among the Muslim and nonalined countires. [paragraph continues]

Egypt has tried to break out of its isolation under the pretext of Afghanistan, but it has been defeated: The first Islamabad Islamic conference condemned the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian regime. Cairo is in a position where not a single Arab leader accepts the risk of supporting its policy, because, by doing so, he would come into opposition against his own people. The Jerusalem resolution also shows how double-faced the U.S. policy is. While President Carter is allegedly defending Islam in Afghanistan, he tolerates, despite every international covenant, Israel's annexation of one of the holy Islamic cities. Only in this way can one judge the fact that the Muskie-led U.S. delegation abstained from voting in the Security Council. Failing to take a stand is a resolute stand. We could ask what the hypocritical U.S. stand adopted in defense of human rights means for the Arab population of the occupied Arab territories, of Jerusalem. Israel is intensifying its terror against the population of the occupied territories, where popular and patriotic Arab leaders are taken into custody, attempts to assault them are a frequent occurrence and interrogation with torture and long prison terms await those that are arrested. Those who profess to be followers of the PLO can be sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment without any other justification in Israel today.

[Question] How are relations developing between the PLO and Iran?

[Answer] We have welcomed the Iranian revolution. What has happened in Iran means a great deal in the area, because it has destroyed the most important position of international imperialism in the Arab Gulf area. Still, it will take time for the revolution in Iran to develop its new institutions. Taking advantage of its long-standing relationship with the new Iranian leadership, the PLO wishes to strengthen the Iranian anti-imperialist line. We regard this being beneficial. In our opinion, good relations with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, is in the interest of the people of Iran, and it is, as well, in the interest of every Arab and the people of the Islamic countries. As against the countries that have brought about the Camp David agreement, there can be only one single strong front in the Middle East, and that is the front of those states and socialist countries that oppose the agreements.

VANCSA DISCUSSES AGRICULTURE-RELATED PRICE INCREASES

AU251845 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Aug 80 p 5

[MTI interview, presumably in Budapest, date unspecified: "Government Measures Concerning Agricultural Prices; Statement by Minister of Agriculture and Food Jeno Vancsa"]

[Text] At its session on 21 August, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on measures concerning agricultural prices to become effective on 1 January 1981. By virtue of it, the prices of means of production and materials used in agriculture will be increased and the procurement prices of agricultural products will be raised. An MTI staff member discussed the need for and the extent of the price changes with Minister of Agriculture and Food Jeno Vancsa.

[Question] What will be the extent of the increase of the products used in agriculture from 1 January 1981?

[Answer] On the average, the price of agricultural machines will increase by 2 percent, that of replacement components by 7-8 percent, that of synthetic fertilizer and insecticides by approximately 6 percent, that of industrial fodder by 5-6 percent and that of services by 5 percent. At the same time, the subsidization in effect this year to offset the energy price increase will be discontinued.

[Question] That will make production more expensive. Why is it necessary to increase the price of a group of the means of production to such an extent?

The Impact of the Foreign Market

[Answer] Our economy is tightly linked to international economic life. We buy many things and sell a large quantity of products on the foreign market. In accordance with our economic policy, domestic producer prices will have to follow world market price changes more rapidly than heretofore in the people's economy as a whole. However, allowances must be made for the characteristic of agricultural production that the production cycle is long and, therefore, it is not practicable to change prices during the year.

For this reason, the state budget largely defrayed this year's mid-year price increase affecting industry-originated materials used in agriculture. In order to make agricultural producers more aware of the higher prices of the means and materials used in production and induce them to husband them more economically, it will serve no purpose to maintain the subsidies encumbering the central budget in 1981 to the previous extent. That is why it has become necessary for us to increase the prices of both the major means of production used in agriculture and the procurement prices of most agricultural products.

Higher Procurement Prices

[Question] How will the procurement prices of agricultural products develop? It is generally known that one reason for the state support to agriculture is the fact that procurement prices are relatively low.

[Answer] The procurement prices of several agricultural products will be increased because of a rise in production costs. The procurement price level of agricultural products will be increased by an average 5 percent, including, per 100 kilograms, a price increase of 20 forints for wheat for human consumption, of 25 forints for fodder grains, of 18 forints for corn, of 5 forints for sugar beet and of 200 forints for tobacco. In livestock breeding, the price of slaughter cattle will be increased by 1.60 forints, that of slaughter hogs by 2 forints and that of slaughter poultry by 2.50 forints per kilogram.

[Question] How far will the higher producer prices offset the expected additional expenditures of large-scale enterprises?

[Answer] The price measures were conceived in the spirit that the replacement of the various subsidies extended toward the price increase of energy sources and industrial materials and means this year by higher prices should not in itself worsen agriculture's position regarding income. Since our branch also has to assume its share of the burdens of the people's economy and the earliest possible consolidation of its equilibrium, approximately 80 percent of the cost increase will be incorporated in procurement prices. The remaining 20 percent will have to be attained through improving productivity, economically increasing yields, economical cost management and intensifying the productivity of work by the large-scale enterprises.

We regard it as our important task to ensure that, along with discipline in the management of affairs, there should be an incentive in production and a zest for production in agriculture. The country continues to count on the branch's very indispensable products and increasingly large output. The producer price changes affecting agriculture make the producer cooperatives and state farms interested in taking the fullest possible advantage of their resources. [paragraph continues]

If farming improves, the position of agriculture regarding income will not deteriorate. That task is not an easy one, but it is not one that cannot be accomplished, either.

[Question] How do the price measures affect household plots and ancillary farms?

[Answer] Favorably. The price increase of means of production--because of a dissimilar production and expenditure structure--affects small-scale producers to a considerably smaller degree than the large-scale enterprises. In spite of this, we do not differentiate between large-scale enterprises and small-scale producers with regard to the extent of the procurement price increase. That is, there will be one difference: We will increase the premium on slaughter hogs delivered after 1 September 1980 on the basis of contracts effective for several years by 1 forint per kilogram. Through this 1 forint and the 2-forint slaughter hog price increase coming into effect from 1 January, the procurement price of fattened hogs farmed out under contracts concluded for several years will have increased by 3 forints. That price increase speaks for itself: The people's economy counts on a long-term basis on the production of household plots and ancillary farms.

More, But More Efficiently

[Question] Will it not cause confusion that the new producer prices coming into effect only next year are already being announced?

[Answer] On the contrary. It is generally known that, in agriculture, laying the foundations for next year begins with the summer and autumn chores. A production cycle is relatively long in agriculture. It is several years in some areas--in cattle breeding, for instance--but it is generally a year even in plowland plant cultivation. Therefore, as a rule, farms can adapt themselves only in the following year to decisions implemented in the middle of a year, and now, 4 months before the beginning of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, they can make their calculations and plan and make preparations on that basis for the accomplishment of their managerial tasks for next year.

[Question] Is the shift in prices in harmony with our concepts concerning the development of production and the objectives of the Sixth 5-Year Plan?

[Answer] The Sixth 5-Year Plan being prepared counts on an increase of agricultural production and makes a considerable increase of profitable agricultural exports possible. Thus, it is necessary simultaneously to expand production and improve efficiency and, on that basis, make the exports of foodstuffs products more economical in the sector. Finding cost-saving solutions--which is encouraged by our new producer price measures, as well as other things--is possible at every farm and in every branch. Since the additional yields that are to be attained in foodstuffs production will serve primarily export purposes, it is not immaterial which branches' development we treat preferentially. The present price measure will promote a differentiated development as well. The above-average increase of the price of breadgrains that can be sold favorably on the foreign market serves also a further reduction of specific fodder use, mainly with regard to the feeding of ruminant livestock, it also imparts a stimulus to assigning a larger role to less expensive rough fodder bulk feed.

The new prices are consistent with our means and the burden-bearing capacity of the people's economy and, at the same time, they prompt a more rational management than heretofore and encourage an intensification of production in keeping with requirements.

WOJNA WARNS OF 'INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES' OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

LD262112 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1845 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Article by Ryszard Wojna to be published in 27 August edition of TRYBUNA LUDU: "The Dividing Line"; read by Wojna--live]

[Text] At the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee we stated that the situation in our country is developing in a dangerous way. Unfortunately, this direction is still being maintained. Despite all efforts, one cannot say that we have been able to stop the course of events which could bring the country to a national catastrophe of such dimensions that some people will recall the drama of the end of the eighteenth century.

There is no exaggeration or attempt to intimidate in this statement, as our opponents have accused us of doing. These are the realities of the contemporary world which has been divided by deep conflict. For that world, regardless of whether it sympathizes with us or not, Poland's interest is of no supreme matter. The interests of Poland can only be guarded by Poles themselves. History has taught us bitterly about this.

At the fourth plenum we made a preliminary assessment. We would like to prepare a deeper analysis for the next plenary meeting of the supreme party authority about the present situation of the country and its causes. Personally, I am convinced that, as soon as the wave of emotions subsides, the proper relations will be restored between the things of which we are proud and the things that are today causing the wide dissatisfaction of the working masses which is directed against errors in ruling the country and against those who have ignored social opinion.

The proceedings at the fourth plenum show that the Central Committee is fully aware that the links between the party and the working class, which is the main source of our strength and entitled to perform a leading role in the political life of the country, have been deeply impaired.

It is not merely our intention and desire, but an absolute necessity on whose realization our existence as a state in its present shape and with its present liberties depends, that the party should regain the confidence of the entire working class and that it should rebuild its dialogue with it and all of society. This is the meaning and result of the discussions of the fourth Central Committee plenum.

With this in mind we decided to initiate a discussion on the claims--and sometimes even demands--raised by the working class as well by the majority who work and by the work forces which are on strike. Such talks are in progress.

However, it would appear that the country's present situation requires a clear definition of platforms regarding what can be the subject of discussion, which means reaching understanding, and what cannot be subjected to discussion and where the people's power cannot and has no right to yield. It is barred from doing so by the responsibility for the well-being of the country and the well-being of the people.

We are assuming the position that a wide range of (?rights) and questions, which basically embrace all the problems of the state's socioeconomic policy and which embrace all that is connected with the conception and realization of social justice, can be the subject of discussions.

Desiring to define a generally accepted direction of solutions in this sphere, one can also initiate discussions on claims whose realization is at present unrealistic but which are worrying the working class and should be taken into consideration in future.

(?There were also sometimes) discussions on a wide range of political issues or matters connected with culture, education, or science. The leading echelons of the party are aware--and this was stressed at the plenum--that there has not been enough of such discussions in our political life, that all too often they have been stagemanaged from the top and that they did not convince society of the effectiveness of a dialogue with the authorities. It also happens that discussions on certain important matters were held but that decisions were made independently, which must have led to dangerous appearances of a disintegration of social awareness. More than once the principles of self-government of individual milieus were taken lightly.

We noted at the plenum that the aims, tasks, and character of trade unions should be the subject of a fundamental discussion. However, one has to approach this matter calmly and objectively. The claims aimed at a breaking up the trade union movement in our country and at its confrontation with the party are not justified. Furthermore, these claims are unrealistic. On the other hand, we are assuming the position that the working class itself has the right to define the aims and tasks of the trade unions. It was noted at the fourth Central Committee plenum that among these tasks is to be a broadest conceived defense of the interests of the working people and the countering of all deformations of state policy or the economic administration which strike at the working class.

Also, it will be the business of union members to decide the final text of the new trade union bill which will be discussed at their congress. Also, it will depend on them to what extent the bill will provide mechanisms for solving social conflicts, including strikes. On them will also depend the naming of unions.

We are also not against discussions concerning the work of the Central Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Entertainment, nor the legal framework of its operation. Thus the scope of subjects for discussion is very wide. We realize that so far the function of discussions in our society has been too scant. In this field we have had a mass of neglect; thus the scope for repair is great.

The aim of the fourth plenum is to create the conditions so that the colossal intellectual potential of our people can come to light and be used for the good of the country. We are open to all proposals aimed in this direction.

But there exists a platform of issues--it is the duty of the party to say it clearly and without any equivocation--with regard to which there can be no discussion. This platform is marked by the Polish raison d'etat and all that determines it, and first of all the political system and the system of alliances to which we belong.

The parameters which mark Poland's place on the European Continent and in European policy are familiar. We are a great and important socialist country with an important economic, demographic and military potential. Our country lies in the center of the continent in the direct security zone of a world socialist power, the Soviet Union.

We are member of the defensive Warsaw Pact and CEMA. In our present political system we constitute one of the basic elements of peaceful order and stabilization in Europe. Any infringement on any factor determining our raison d'etat would inevitably lead to incalculable consequences.

These factors include the place of our party in the political life of the Polish state and the fundamental structures of peoples' power.

The fact that today we look critically at many aspects of party work--this was testified by the fourth plenum of the Central Committee--does not infringe in any way whatsoever and cannot infringe on the truth that the position and place of the party in our state constitute an integral part of the political system.

The importance of its policy for the position attained by Poland after World War II and for the level it has reached cannot be overestimated. At the same time we see the need to introduce profound changes to the mechanism by which democracy functions in our country.

The Central Committee plenum expressed the desire to engage in the governing of the country with greater openness not only the brotherly political parties but also nonparty people representative of the community, including those who in their actions are being guided by Catholic ideology.

The party directs an appeal for their cooperation to all who are concerned by the fate of the homeland, who uphold the need for a realistic consideration for the requirements and the realities of the raison d'etat. But while wanting to widen and repair the mechanisms of socialist democracy in our country, we must at the same time determine with all firmness our attitude to the antisocialist forces, which join the protest of the working class and attempt to take advantage of its dissatisfaction for objectives which are alien to socialist Poland.

Let us not pull the wool over our eyes, but let us say openly that if one strives for the prolongation of strikes, putting forward ever new demands which fan the atmosphere of tension, including demands of a political nature--if one strives for an escalation ignoring the dangerous consequences, ignoring the threat of poisoning of the political atmosphere, the threat of anarchy in public life and the ominous consequences for the state and the entire community--then such a method--even should the objectives which are the subject of the conflict be suitable for debate--must lead to other results, pernicious for Poland.

The moment may come when those who have launched these demands or even more drastic ones will say: We did not want that. But then it will be too late.

That is why serious and responsible men--at a time when possibly the future fate of the country is in the balance--should be able to discern the dividing line between matters which can be the subject of discussion and principles which cannot be the subject of such discussion and to discern that there are limits marked out by the security of the state and the community which nobody is allowed to transgress under any circumstances.

WALESA SAYS STRIKES WILL CONTINUE UNTIL DEMANDS MET

LD270120 London BBC Television Network in English 2200 GMT 26 Aug 80

[BBC correspondent Brian Walker interview with strke leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk; date not given; Walesa answers in Polish with superimposed English translation; carried on "Newsnight" program--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Lech, can you tell me what is your impression of the attitude of mind of Mr Jagielski and the government?

[Answer] I don't think that they understand how convinced we are of our case. Their proposals weren't thought out. Perhaps I should rephrase that. They hadn't prepared themselves for the meeting as well as they should have. We on our part treated this only as a preliminary exchange of views, not binding. Then, only after acquainting ourselves with their viewpoint, could we come to an agreement, and this is the way it went.

[Question] Lech, do you believe that the government sincerely want to find a solution to this strike?

[Answer] Definitely yes, but because of its present state, it is helpless. It would like to solve these problems but it cannot.

[Question] After the riots of 1970, party leader Mr Gierek appealed to the workers to help him by going back to work. Would you be prepared to help him in the same way this time?

[Answer] As you know, 10 years ago I was also involved in this type of work. My role then was a less obvious one, since I was younger and had far less experience, something which I gained over the last 10 years, something which I also gained in December 1970, in heading the first and second strike committees from beginning to end. But now the situation has changed slightly and these words, so attractive and proud, can no longer be applied. There have to be concrete solutions. We will not allow ourselves to be taken for a ride since we have learned from the past. We honestly wanted to and did help, but we were outmaneuvered then. We will not commit this mistake again. We must have firm guarantees and the means of developing in the way in which we propose.

[Question] Do you, Lech, in your heart of hearts really believe that the government can grant these demands quickly?

[Answer] As I said from the start: There is no other way; there is no other possibility. It is impossible to accept a different way of solving these matters. It is impossible. This is the present situation and it has to be accepted. If the government wants to govern, then it has to accept this.

[Question] It sounds as if there is deadlock. You sound pessimistic. Does that mean that the strike is bound to go on for a very long time?

[Answer] As I have said from the beginning, we can strike for 5 years. We do not want other factories to strike. It will not be good, since we know that food and other things are being sent here from different regions. If this was to embrace the whole country, then there will be problems and a very bad situation could result.

The authorities are also aware of this. We would all be threatened with a very grave situation, which neither they nor we want. The present situation is so much the better for us, since we can make demands on behalf of other regions. We can fight for them, but only if we have their support in every case. They should work in order to produce enough and meet all our needs, since we don't know if any foreign country will help us, and a lot more goods are needed today.

[Question] Could the communist Government of Poland survive if your demands were granted? Is communism compatible with free trade unions?

[Answer] I don't believe in definitions. Call it what you will, but it has to be efficient. It has to function. If something gets jammed and breaks down, then we either throw it away or we do something else. Since I have got the experience of 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976, and now 1980, I know that these breakdowns are ever more frequent. There is little point in carrying out repairs. We might as well buy a new machine.

WORK STOPPAGES REPORTED SPREADING TO OTHER PARTS OF COUNTRY

Wroclaw Factory Workers

LD261550 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] [Words indistinct] a part of the work forces of certain factories in Wroclaw downed tools today and formulated several demands addressed to the authorities, among which the demand for an improvement of living standards is dominating.

The greater part of those demands concern matters which are already being discussed by the government. Their implementation depends on the gathering of the needed quantity of goods produced, among other things, in our voivodship. Therefore, it is important to resume work at all plants which have interrupted work for solidarity reasons. Solidarity is needed in work and in producing new goods for our market, and not in stoppage of work.

We appeal to the working class and all working people of Wroclaw to show their solidarity with the majority of work forces at Polish factories which are responsibly carrying on normal production tasks.

We have decided to improve the supply to the people of Wroclaw town and voivodship of meat, meat produces and other foodstuffs, thanks to the initiatives of the work forces of the food sector industry and the help of central authorities.

This should alleviate the difficulties in shopping experienced by us in everyday life. A full solution to the problem of the supply of basic articles, in particular foodstuffs, depends on the work of all those producing these articles, that is the farmers and agricultural workers, workers in the food industry and in other industries and trades. Rhythmic work at workplaces in Wroclaw greatly depends on [words indistinct]. Therefore, we appeal to all work forces [passage indistinct].

The workers of Wroclaw town and voivodship have always shown a sense of social and political prudence and a civic and patriotic attitude. Ever since the western and northern territories returned to the fatherland, the inhabitants of Wroclaw have given an example of commitment to and caring about reconstruction and a rapid development of the town and region. (?Important) political and social reasons demand a continuation of this trend.

[Signed] Ludwik Drozdz, chairman of the Wroclaw Voivodship People's Council; and Janusz Owczarek, governor of Wroclaw Voivodship

Lodz Transportation Strike

LD261714 Hamburg DPA in German 1643 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (DPA)--It was learned from dissident circles in Warsaw this evening that there are also strikes in the industrial town of Lodz. Among other things, no streetcars or buses have been operating. The strikes in Lodz, like those in Wroclaw, are manifestations of solidarity with the strikers on the Baltic coast.

AFP Report

NC261556 Paris AFP in English 1546 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (AFP)--Workers on transport services in parts of the Polish provinces today joined the strike movements crippling much of the country, according to dissidents in the capital.

A spokesman for the self-defence committee KOR, a dissident group, said transport workers walked out at Lodz, 120 kms (75 miles) southwest of Warsaw, at Koszalin, on the Baltic coast between Gdansk and Szczecin, and at Rzeszow, 250 kms (160 miles) south of here.

Several other enterprises were halted by strikes at Rzeszow, the spokesman said, and at Wroclaw, 300 kms (190 miles) southwest of Warsaw. Workers had also downed tools at a rubber factory in Olsztyn, 180 kms (112 miles) north of here.

But details were scarce because of a wave of arrests among the KOR leadership. Fifteen members have been detained in recent days.

SITUATION IN COASTAL, TRICITY AREA REVIEWED

LD261156 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Excerpts] Commerce and services, power stations, watermains and gas works are the sole enterprises on the coast that working normally. Order prevails everywhere. Work forces of the largest enterprises in Gdansk and Gdynia continue to strike. Buses and streetcars are still idle.

The services of passenger traffic and goods conveyance, so far provided by the railways and some trucks from the home trade transport enterprise and vehicles from rural cooperatives, have now been joined by PKS [State Motor Transportation] depots in Koscierzyna, Kartuzy and Gniew. Commerce outlets have adequate supplies of basic goods. Health services and municipal services are working normally.

In Szczecin strikes in production and port enterprises are continuing. Difficulties in the life of the inhabitants are increasing. This is due in particular to the complete lack of urban transportation. Calm and order reigns in the city. The inhabitants are making every effort to help one another surmount everyday problems in this abnormal situation.

In Elblag strikes in key industrial and construction enterprises continued yesterday. The government commission is holding talks in sector groups with representatives of the striking work forces. Mass transportation as well as PKS passenger traffic in the city are idle. Only factory buses are operating.

PAP Report

LD262046 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (PAP)--The difficult situation in the Gdansk and Szczecin coastal regions and in Elblag has not changed. Strikes continued today. Governmental commissions were examining the demands of the striking crews.

The community in the Gdansk coast is vitally interested in the course of talks between the governmental commission and the representation of the strikers. The talks are seen to be difficult, but absolutely sincere and held in the awareness that agreement is feasible and indispensable. Despite the many everyday problems, there is law and order in that city. Cars and coaches of work establishments help in the transport of people and goods. Despite the special supplies from outside Gdansk Voivodship, the stock of petrol is running out. The selfless work of shop suppliers and assistants and the municipal services of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot deserves appreciation. The discipline of the community and people's friendliness to each other alleviate many everyday difficulties. In a statement published in the press, the voivodship authorities express thanks to all the employees of municipal services, who understand many of the demands put forth by the striking crews and are waiting for the resolution of swollen socio-economic problems without stopping work.

Also in Szczecin strikes are continuing. There, too, the shops and the local health service are working selflessly. Kindergartens and creches are open. The conditions of work are not easy. People employed in the services are the ones most affected by the lack of tram and bus transport. Most people have to walk to work. In Szczecin, whose area is nearly equal to that of Warsaw, the way to work and back home is often ten-odd kilometres. A great number of bicycles have appeared in the city. People are helping each other. Owners of private cars are willing to give lifts to mothers taking their children to creches and kindergartens. Law and order is maintained in the city.

The governmental commission is continuing a thorough examination of the demands and postulates put forth by the crews of Szczecin's work establishments and the ways to execute them.

The situation in Elblag has not changed. The key factories are not working, neither are construction and transport firms. Although the basic goods have been delivered to shops, their stock is running low. The shortage of coal and coke is deepening both in the city and in the neighbouring villages.

The governmental commission working in branch teams continues talks with the delegations of the work establishments. The meetings are held in a matter-of-fact atmosphere.

GOVERNMENT COMMISSION, GDANSK STRIKERS NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

Scheduled Negotiations Delay

NC262118 Paris AFP in English 2110 GMT 24 Aug 80

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, 26 Aug, AFP--Negotiations scheduled for late today between the Joint Strike Committee and the government commission charged with examining Gdansk strikers' demands have been delayed at the request of the Polish authorities.

Lech Walesa, a member of the Joint Strike Committee presidium, announced the delay. He said it was caused by Deputy-Premier and President of the government commission Mieczyslaw Jagielski having to return urgently to Warsaw for an important meeting.

The negotiations were to have started at 10:00 p.m. (2000 GMT).

Cancellation of Talks

LD262144 Hamburg DPA in German 2126 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Excerpt] Gdansk, 26 Aug (DPA)--The new round of talks between the Polish Government delegation and the strikers at the Lenin shipyard planned for tonight has been cancelled without any reasons being given. It was learned from the strike committee that Deputy Premier Jagielski had returned to Warsaw.

Topics of Discussion

LD270534 Warsaw PAP in English 2359 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug, PAP--Many crews are asking about the character of postulates and the course of talks between the governmental commission and the interfactory strike committees in Gdansk and Gdynia.

PAP correspondent has been informed that the governmental commission presented proposals for solving the problems concerning pay and welfare which take into account the workers' demands on the one hand and the state's actual capabilities on the other. The proposals concerned pay rises, starting up mechanisms to compensate for the increase of the cost of living, increasing housing construction, better market supply, raising family allowances, old age and disability pensions.

Some of the postulates exceeded the country's present capabilities, e.g. a further lowering of pension age or extending the paid maternity leave. Those matters, however, will be examined in the future when the conditions arise.

The opinions differed mainly as regards the structure of the trade union movement. The interfactory strike committee demands that separate trade union be founded. The commission assured the strikers that the authorities will favour the introduction within the existing class trade unions of such changes which will make them a fully self-managing organization, closely linked to the needs of crews and defending their interests and rights.

'Distance' Between Participants

LD271058 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] Factories are still idle in the tricity, urban transportation is at a standstill and operations in the ports are disrupted. Thanks to the tremendous efforts of workers in the municipal services, of railway workers, merchants and public health employees the life of the inhabitants of Gdansk, Gdynia and Elblag has not been totally disorganized. Excellent calm and order prevails both in the striking factories and also in the towns.

The greatest interest of all the inhabitants is of course centered on the contacts between the government commission of Deputy Premier Jagielski and the interfactory strike committee [MKS]. Their meeting yesterday was reported in full over Gdansk Polish radio. Today's Gdansk press carries an extensive account.

Following the additional information given at yesterday's session by Deputy Premier Jagielski--information which supplemented the commission stance to the full list of 21 demands--the first point of the demands concerning the nature of the program provisions and the functioning of trade unions was discussed yesterday. The MKS representatives defined their stand in this matter, a stance which essentially boils down to a demand to create new self-governed trade unions side by side with the existing unions. Yesterday's discussions ended with the appointment of a group of experts from both sides which is to present the results of its discussions at the next meeting of the commission and the MKS presidium.

As could be judged from the radio report and from the account in the press the talks are very difficult. The positions of the sides taking part in the discussions are fairly far apart. But everyone is agreed in stressing the importance of the talks being conducted, and declares that there is understanding for their importance and that it is necessary to continue discussions until agreement is finally reached.

The next meeting is to be held today. We are all convinced that it will take place in a similar atmosphere characterized by common sense and understanding of its importance.

Gdansk Report on Talks

LD261448 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1315 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Relay of 26 August meeting in Gdansk between the government commission with the Interfactory Strike Committee--live or recorded]

[Text] [unidentified voice, presumably Jagiglski] [passage indistinct] I began my work on Friday. On Friday evening I met with representatives of the presidium of the (?Strike Committee). We began talks on Saturday. [Passage indistinct] in a straight forward and constructive manner resolve existing problems. And now I would like to sum up, as I said before, [word indistinct] at the same time certain reflections, how the commission [words indistinct] proposes to achieve settlement.

First, I would like to say [words indistinct] and demands directly concerning the interests of workforces in the tricity, which are most (?essential) for workforces, which are of (?most) interest to them, which concern their working and living conditions [words indistinct] in a positive and unequivocal manner. [words indistinct] From the conclusion that what is [word indistinct] unrealistic and bearing in mind the responsibility [words indistinct], responsibility for what has been said, we must organize all that needs to be arranged [words indistinct] and transmit it to those who are the most concerned.

We have issued a communique on the opening of talks with the Interfactory Strike Committee. The publication of my speech will acquaint society with the postulates and demands of the MKS [Miedzyzakladowy Komitet Strajkowy; Interfactory Strike Committee] in their entirety. We consider it fitting to fully report to the public on the social and economic situation [passage indistinct].

[Unidentified voice] The electrical machinery plants, plants of the light and agricultural and food industries [words indistinct] and (?I must) stress emphatically [words indistinct]. Therefore [words indistinct] we have settled those matters which in my understanding were the cause of the strikes.

[Words indistinct] it is our concern to improve supplies to the market. [Words indistinct] of which proof is yesterday's government Presidium decision that there are 60,000 tons. We (?envisage) improved possibilities of an increase in the meat supply. [passage indistinct] In the course of 3 months, until the end of November, a program for raising [word indistinct] pensions will be elaborated. [Words indistinct] the rents cannot be levelled off at once. From next year, a raise in pensions will take place amounting to [passage indistinct] my information about family allowances for nonworking wives of militia members--that they total Z300-400 depending on the number of children they raise--has been questioned. There is, on the other hand, a differentiated family allowance which depends on the amount of their earnings. [passage indistinct]

Items 16, 17 and 18, concern improvements in health service working conditions, improvements in medical care, increases of places in creches and kindergartens for the children of working women. [passage indistinct]

[Passage indistinct] What happens now is what we observed during the first day. [Passage indistinct]

[Words indistinct]. There was such tremendous traffic in the night that [words indistinct]. Moreover, [words indistinct] Lodz 14th, Katowice 13th, Koszalin 19th, Olsztyn 18th, [placenames indistinct] (?Konin) 10th, Wroclaw 17th. [Words indistinct] is to terribly overloaded [passage indistinct].

[Unidentified voice] To make available other means of transmission to the entire country, the [word indistinct] of which are not [word indistinct], the electronic appliances which are not overloaded. I am thinking here about radio and television. I think that these centers have not been so overloaded that the press could not have written about them as well; and by as well I mean in accordance with the truth. The press could have come here and listened to what ordinary working people say--ordinary and average as I am myself. For I am a working man, although I am working at the Gdansk technical university. We have here among us a cross section of all vocations--farmers and agricultural workers, personnel of the health service. We have heard views of totally nonorganized people, such as we have talked about and a great number of private individuals. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified voice] Last night the blockade [blokada] comprised Katowice, Lodz, Poznan, Bydgoszcz, Wroclaw, Olsztyn and (Giwice) [words indistinct].

[Unidentified voice] May I? The point here is the social feeling (?as regards) the MKS. There have been various provocations. That is, they wanted to drag us into the political field, purely political and [words indistinct] what is the point. We had great difficulty in bringing the truth to the surface. We must have distribution of news by alternative methods, because we have been isolated. We had to convey our information [words indistinct] all the foreign news agencies were represented, but ours were lacking. People from our radio stations came to us, true reporters, they came privately and said that they wanted to transmit but could not guarantee whether it would be possible. It was a question of plain censorship, and this is why we had to begin this action. We were slandered, and we have gathered here in order to [words indistinct] the matter.

This is why the action is not a political one; it is a social and practical one, an economic matter. This argumentation and the strength of the peoples desires that the truth should pass. We are fully aware that people who are responsible in Poland for the state of the economy and the errors committed which are burdening it, are not interfering because they are afraid of the truth; they are using an argumentation emanating from their own chairs; they are scared to lose their positions. But is this a serious approach to matters concerning our entire nation? We wish to get out of the present crisis and we have arguments how to do it. [passage indistinct]

[Jagielski] Dear sir, I have again answered questions and some of the demands. Can I be heard? [shouts of "yes"] Can I be heard? [shouts of "yes"] I am heard. I wish to say once more, and for those who have not heard it let me repeat the sentence--I wish to express considerable satisfaction with the fact that we are meeting again and that we can together, as you said it a while ago, talk about subjects which we have been treating and are treating with complete seriousness as being essential for the working people of the Gdansk Voivodship. On Saturday I assumed a position regarding them, and I shall not repeat myself, on all these concrete matters. I made an effort to settle what can be settled. I gave concrete dates today and methods of realization. I can say that we are assuming a positive attitude to a decisive majority of matters which are interesting the work forces, to matters concerning pay increases, pay adjustments, working conditions, labor safety, improved food conditions, better supplies, improved functioning of the health service, the amounts of pay increases for shipyard workers and longshoremen, for the workers of the electro-engineering industry, building workers, (?RPK), and others.

I considered that the demands [word indistinct] and it was my duty to assume a position. Had I not done so, you would have told me that there was no point in coming if you do not wish to assume a position with regard to these matters. I have assumed a position on these matters. I said precisely that we shall be seeking ways to import meat in order to improve supplies in the concrete situation. I gave these figures, because I was not certain whether 50 or 60 [presumably meaning 50-60,000 tons] [words indistinct] and we are seeking further possibilities.

I considered and continue to consider that these matters are (?possible) and essential for the working people.

[Unidentified voice] Please, colleagues, sit down. There are three of our colleagues, and there are three others.

[Unidentified voice] Yes.

[Unidentified voice] Mr Chairman, I wish to say--because you know yourself that I cannot fail to say it because the people would say that I am dishonest--and I do not want to be dishonest with you.

[Unidentified voice probably Jagielski] I do not want to be dishonest with you. [Words indistinct] as you said yourself, Mr Chairman. And now I would like to state a point which I have been approaching all the time here. We arrive here at a point which can be so defined: As far as the other matters are concerned, I consider [words indistinct] all matters in your (?27) points I take full responsibility for them.

We shall sit down after this session and we shall put it in writing that we settle this point in a (?clear and full) manner. The second point [words indistinct] as a matter of fact starting with the first one, first, second (?and so on) all those which [word indistinct] treating as the most essential [words indistinct].

[Unclear whether the same speaker continues] Sir, you have said that three gentlemen are to give their opinion on this matter, have you not? [words uttered simultaneously by several persons]

[Unidentified voice, probably Jagielski] Could we then? Let me explain my views once more. (?May I, Mr Chairman?) as far as the essential point is concerned--as I understand it, it is point number one. Is that not so? We are speaking about the first point? Here is my answer: You have read my statement on this made at the Saturday meeting, have you not? You know this statement. This matter was discussed at the last plenary meeting of the party Central Committee. And I am not speaking about personal and [word indistinct] if you gentlemen would like to ask me about these matters I shall answer. I am speaking about this [word indistinct] point. I have said that a reform of the activity of trade unions is an important and [word indistinct] task. The plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions is (?I think) being held today. I say I think for I am constantly working too. It is indispensable for us to undertake steps which will pave the way for a radical improvement of the situation, and which shall allow the trade movement to strengthen its class character and regain its position in the masses. It is planned to immediately hold elections for the new trade union authorities in all those enterprises whose work forces require it. [Word indistinct] to hold precisely such an election in the entire tricity in the nearest days or weeks--whenever you think it fitting. These elections must be democratic ones, and the voting secret.

It was stressed at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee that if--and this will be shown by the elections, democratic elections--the prestige of the representatives spontaneously appointed at some works recently proves to be durable then these activists will certainly find themselves in the new leadership. Our party--for in this matter I cannot speak for the government, since the trade unions are not subordinated to the government and therefore I am speaking here as a party worker--our party considers that the defense of workers' interests to be the fundamental function of trade unions, above all other [word indistinct]. The real activity of the trade union movement in carrying out this function is an essential factor in preventing deformations in the state economic policy and in the correct shaping of relations between the administration and workforces. [words indistinct] Next this found its confirmation in the stand of the plenum taken on the basis of (?discussions), atmosphere and climate, of all that was said here by some representatives during the brief Friday meeting, and [words indistinct] atmosphere of our meeting on Saturday; that it is necessary to adopt a new law on trade unions; that experience shows it would be indeed useful to also include in this law the conditioning regulations--normative regulations which, if I may say so, would define the conditions and modality of work stoppages as a means of pursuing workers' demands in those cases where all other means--from the social point of view more profitable and more fitting means--may fail.

One of the gentlemen here told me, put forward a suggestion--because of course this was not [hesitates, changes sentence construction] we have still not drawn up a law.

We said: Perhaps the labor code might be changed. (?Good.) Mister [word indistinct] says himself: A strike is not the best solution. Best not to strike, isn't it? I share your view. [words indistinct] But we say that we shall have to deny this in this law. [sentence indistinct] I can say this much: I think that I am honest in what I say through and through and I maintain that there is a fundamental point of view in the party. Does it in essence--in essence--stray from your aspirations? Do you really think so? I don't know because I am not familiar [words indistinct] I don't know. I have spoken the truth in a very developed manner. And this is [word indistinct] what, after our meeting, after the speeches of the plenum and after yesterday when, as I understand, we were unable to make contact for various reasons. I was ready. I was ready until 1 o'clock in the night. But somehow we did not manage to make contact. [Words indistinct] after reflection, not me but a representative of the government. The government. The government cannot define such principles. What can I say on this subject, being at the same time a representative of the party--a party activist--not so much a representative but rather an activist? [unidentified voice] (?What has to be done to satisfy us?)

[Worker introduces himself, name indistinct] We are meeting here in conditions of a social and exonomic crisis. Here it would be in order to reflect, to say a few words about what led up to this crisis. For many years the whole of the economy of Poland, local and ministerial authorities, have been calculated according to what [passage indistinct].

[Unclear whether same speaker continues] People have been living like this for 24 years, since the law was ratified by the Polish Sejm on 14 December 1956--(?the law, the Convention of Law 77/78 about national labor (?sections). The convention does not only not solve problems; the convention assures the creation of new problems. Dear participants, even the legal (?premises) of this convention about the creation of new unions are uncertain, because every organization may degenerate. It can be manipulated from outside, it can be manipulated from inside. There are countless examples [words indistinct]. During a reform of trade unions they would appoint such a union or a new one, which could lead to [word indistinct] The only way to counteract a degeneration is the right to create unions. This is correct. It may introduce an element of confusion, unions [words indistinct] could be created. [Words indistinct] radical unions could be created which would proclaim strikes. Yes, but I still think that one can always (?find a solution). The Polish people, and the population of the coast is an example, has given proof of being rational, calm, and mature.

Words spoken when raising complaints here are also proof that the people have matured. The people do not believe in summary improvements. The people are aware that economic concessions alone, pay increases alone, are not solving the matter. Mr Chairman, not so long ago a breadroll costing 50 grosze was larger than a fist. Now a breadroll costing 90 grosze can be held in the hand. These are facts. If we get this Z2,000 it may so happen that in a short time our wages, with this Z2,000 will only amount in value to half of our present wages. I have calculated on my personal example, even before my holiday, that my purchasing power was greater originally than it is now after 20 working years. I can put my name to this. It is quite basic.

In order to gain the confidence of the workers, which means to gain the confidence of the working class, I consider that new unions should be appointed. [applause] New unions, but it is not the name that matters. [Words indistinct] against the dissolution of the old ones. Even more so as it would contradict the Sejm resolution, where in Article 4 of the Convention No 77 it says no workers' organization can be suspended or dissolved in the [word indistinct] of labor. This is (?obvious). A number of problems have to be discussed here in this context for legal and orderly procedure, following which the unions--two or more, if we restore the essential contents of the convention in force in Poland on the national organization of labor--will cooperate among themselves. Mr Chairman, I believe that the maturity of the Polish people, precisely as shown by the population in the seaboard, this calmness shown during the visit of the pope, are proof that solutions are possible here. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified voice] This is how the anger and tension increases, and this is how another set of events explodes. I think the Poles are sick of listening to talk about errors and mistakes which are repeated [word indistinct] [applause] [Words indistinct] that it is necessary to practically make a resolution in the country. I think that if the voice of the community is listened to, and if it is not thwarted, then we shall be able to avoid joint mistakes. But if such a voice is to be heard the community must have its own organization. [words indistinct] The workers must have the freedom to speak out, whether they are right or not. A debate is only possible if voices are allowed which are right in their own work enterprises. [applause] The question is: Who is to decide whose voice is right? Up to now this has been decided by (?institutions). What is why I am stressing once again that it is the desire of the community in the coastal region to establish new unions, independent and free.

We are aware of the publicity which this is likely to cause and we are also aware that such unions cannot be created simply on paper but must be guarded by regulations and guarantees [words indistinct] [applause] We expect from the government a declaration and a promise that the newly created unions will have no troubles. [applause] Immediately upon their creation we shall begin to work out a statute and we shall register such a statute [applause].

I think the new unions must have a say in the division of the national income for consumption and for accumulation. Mr Chairman, according to our data only one fourth of the national income is earmarked for the community. The rest rotates around (?investments) for industry. In the long term this is not possible. We have been developing and investing for 35 years, while the people have little to show for it.

Next, the trade unions have their own tasks to perform concerning the living conditions of the people and the working conditions of the labor force. But they must also have the ability to influence, to advance, plans. The lack of this and the deprivation of the trade unions in this respect has caused the law to break its links with the interests of the people.

[Unidentified voice] Thank you. [applause]

[Unidentified voice] [Words indistinct] Perhaps we shall have replies. I propose to listen to [words indistinct].

[Jagielski] Please do so. It might be useful for all the gentlemen to have their say. It might be useful if all the gentlemen speak, who may wish to add to their remarks. We shall then begin with the discussion. [words indistinct] We shall take a short break and then continue.

[Unidentified voice] Mr Chairman, we do not understand very well why the government is making strong efforts to reorganize all the trade unions, but does not wish to agree to the appointment of new ones. The old trade unions are at present discredited to such an extent that even our presence in this institution, at this stage of discredit, is impossible. We do not wish to exchange old for new: We simply wish for an entirely new organ. New trade unions [passage indistinct]. We are prepared to change the enterprise committees which now exist, the strike committees, into founding committees for new trade unions. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified voice] My name is Wisniewski. I am an (?ordinary) man in a group (?belonging to the building industry). I am working in electrical assembly and colleagues--delegates from the striking workforces--have committed me to find a solution to the matters we have discussed many times. Because, as we know, the builders are dispersed throughout the whole of Poland we are working in various places and we have specific problems. I am here to reflect the voice of the builders. The opinions published by the media are marginal and do not reflect the truth.

I understand that we are meeting here because we have confidence in each other as people of good will. This is how I see it. We have gathered here [words indistinct] which represent the wide ranks of the striking workforces--and there are more than 400 in just the tricity and Gdansk Voivodship--in order to settle these matters.

In connection with this I would like to give our view of certain things. [Words indistinct] What brought us here? I understand both sides. It was simply the economic crisis. The fundamental reason for the economic crisis is the lack of representation of the working people when economic decisions are taken, in particular when they concern the division of the national income and community products [produkty spoleczne]. At present only 26 percent of what is produced in Poland is earmarked for public consumption. All the rest is devoured [zzera] by industry itself, [word indistinct] and so on. It transpires from this that without social control industry is producing for itself. Such control, at all levels, can only be ensured by independent free trade unions. [applause]. To be exact, the latest news about the 26 percent is quoted from TRYBUNA LUDU published on the 23d of this month. [passage indistinct]

Unfinished construction projects are standing in the wilderness and are not operating. [passage indistinct] I am a master craftsman in the building industry. I finished a diploma course at which I met many colleagues. We discussed some beautiful things: economy, psychology of labor, sociology--things which really give a full guarantee of good work. But for this one must have properly equipped workshops and construction sites. The voice of people like us who are dealing with such issues every day must be taken really seriously, as we are in a way [words indistinct]. That is why the proposed factories to build housing elements have their significance. We thought about it. There are many people here who are knowledgeable about this. It would be a good thing if we could express this. [passage indistinct] We know that the present housing elements factories are not being used to their full capacity. [passage indistinct]

Bad management costs more than strikes and an improvement in the economy is essential. [applause] [words indistinct] The authorities and the present government had no authority among the workers. Only with [applause] the support and participation of the independent self-governments and free trade unions can such a reform be carried out. [passage indistinct]

I am speaking here because construction industry workforces [words indistinct] We work throughout the country, and have [word indistinct] in the whole of Poland. And please believe us that we depend a lot on you. [applause]

[Unidentified voice] Control over [word indistinct] of authority which affect Poland's socioeconomic sphere is very important. Reforms in the sphere of management and planning are very necessary. And here again these free trade unions--these independent and self-managementing unions--can bring in these things. Here they have [words indistinct] which were able in difficult conditions to go and meet halfway [words indistinct]. We are firmly resolved to go and deal with this [word indistinct]. Why else would we have met here, why would we have gone on strike [words indistinct]? No, we want to deal with this. [words indistinct] I think the government has already become convinced of this, and asks us to trust it fully in order that [words indistinct] [applause]

[Unidentified voice] We proceed fully from the stance of [word indistinct]. It has quite simply become a fact that (?these 40 enterprises) stopped work after the speech by CCTU Chairman Szydlak in the Gdansk District Council of Trade Unions. (?It has already become known) what went on there. I do not wish to repeat this because it is probably well known. Quite simply, they took a well-considered and weighed decision. Quite simply, we are leaving the present trade unions. We do not want to break the rules. We are not disbanding the trade unions because we do not have the right to do this. We are leaving them. We want to create these free and independent trade unions in order to save our (?professional life). This is why we have every right, our basic duty--and this is surely the basic matter [words indistinct] quite simply our own principles, internal economic matters in Poland. The (?workers) have a right to this. [applause]

[Unidentified voice] My name is Sobieszek. I would simply like express a view here that in the future an incident with [word indistinct] does not take place. I am convinced that if we did not have the meeting here today we would be still talking in the large hall, and all the people would be watching us, watching our behavior, our reactions.

I would like to express my concern with the words of Mr Premier to the effect that the trade unions simply apply to the tricity. [applause] I am appealing to your hearts, gentlemen. You are Poles and in such a way, expressing such a sentence, we can lead to a strike throughout Poland. [applause] I think that one should appeal to the conscience of the whole of Poland and the whole community, explaining all our demands. The point is that the whole community can express an honest opinion on these demands, so that such a strike can be averted. Otherwise we shall have a tragedy. We are not concerned here with your wellbeing, gentlemen, at stake here is th good of Poland, which is all ours. We cannot (?plan) this. [applause] I would like to add here, to avoid misunderstanding that Poles are not only making complaints that this or that gentlemen is holding this or that post. My friends, this is not the point. The point is that you gentlemen should function well and constitute a healthy organism allowing yourself to be criticized at times, justly or unjustly, and allowing information to be conveyed truthfully and honestly. Thank you. [applause]

[Jagielski] I understand. You gentlemen have expressed your views on the subject in accordance with what Mr Chairman has said because you have made a principal point of the free trade unions issue. None of you have thought about the previous (?points). I have, therefore, a proposal.

But I must say that I was hurt by what you have said. I am only a man. I have come here as chairman of the commission (?to cover the coast) and it is not in my competence to speak about the problems of the whole country. I have no such right. I cannot take an attitude today to the problems of the whole state. I am not competent to speak about it today as I have concentrated on this mission, to come and talk with you about the problems of the coast. Right? I do not want to spread any anxiety. On the contrary, since I arrived I have wanted to act in the direction of a constructive solution to the matter.

Your point of view is correct and acceptable but you know a decision cannot be taken in such a situation [words indistinct]

[Studio announcer] After the break the deliberations have been resumed. [relay continues]

[Jagielski] Can you hear me? [shouts of "yes, yes"] I propose to do things the way we agreed on Saturday, Mr Chairman. After our meeting, just as we did on Saturday, let us produce a short communique and let us announce it.

[Worker utters indistinct words]

[Jagielski] That is correct, both of them. The talks have begun, and the talks went on, and so on and so on. I understand the content will be agreed upon just as before. I would like to submit three comments of principal importance. I understand that all the gentlemen, who we listened to with full seriousness, sharply criticized in their speeches the activity of the trade unions. You have quoted a number of concrete examples, both of general character and of your particular professional activity, which pointed out the important shortcomings in trade union activity. In this criticism--and I can say this on behalf of the other commission members--we are in agreement, in total agreement. There are no differences between us. Personally, I felt that we are moved by the same motive force, that is the striving for renewal of the trade unions so that they perform the role which, by their nature, they should perform. I shall not return to what we have said before.

The gentlemen have listened to the viewpoint presented by me. We have listened to the viewpoint expressed by you. I said that we have listened with great attention. You have defined in your speeches that it is a very difficult subject in the meaning of its detailed elaboration. If I recall, Mr Gwiazda even used the words that it was a subject with many layers, requiring a number of detailed elaborations, etc. I have the following suggestion to make: Let us--without interrupting our work--appoint from among ourselves a group of three people each, who will work on the individual problems in more detail than is possible against a general background. We--those remaining here--will at once consider, without tiring you any further and with the aid of the telephone of Voivoda Kolodziejski, who will be selected on our side. And in order not to waste time, after a short break these gentlemen will begin their work.

[Unidentified voice] You still continue to talk about a streamlining or improvement. What matters to us is not an improvement or sanitization. What matters to us is the creation of entirely new trade unions. This is why we do not quite understand one another. [applause]

[Jagielski] I understand. [interrupted by applause] Mr Chairman, I understand. I understand that as yet what we have presented is still a viewpoint and you have presented a viewpoint. What matters now is for work on certain details to go ahead, while we continue to consider these problems. Next, I suggest the fixing of another meeting. We will agree upon the time for another meeting.

[Unidentified voice] Mr Premier [words indistinct]

[Jagielski] Three persons each. If you think a larger group is needed, let us (?have more than three people) on each side.

[Unidentified voice] But I have another matter. Would this meeting [words indistinct]

[Jagielski] Naturally, I hope that (?you will be there also).

[Unidentified voice] Do we understand, therefore, that our meeting today is closed?

[Jagielski] I would not say closed, but temporarily interrupted. The work of the groups of experts should commence, and then we will agree on the hour for the next meeting. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified voice] We are representing the people of the seaboard here. Mr Premier, could we have a plain answer? Will there be free trade unions or a streamlining of the present ones? We have to reach an understanding on this point. We must know, finally, what the matter is.

[Jagielski] Mr Chairman, I repeat that I am not prejudging any issue. I would like you to discuss it but in a smaller circle. This means that we will consider it very precisely. It means that on our side there will be one group which will once again discuss in greater detail the viewpoint expressed by you, and you will listen once more in a more detailed way to what we have said. I believe that only in such a way can one negotiate or hold talks in such a way.

[Unidentified voice] I think I do not wish to ridicule any person, but I believe a misunderstanding has crept in. We simply demand free trade unions, and the premier keeps sticking to his conditions about a modernization of the existing ones.

[Unidentified voice] No, this is not the issue. Truthfully not. It is simply, in plain Polish, turning the matter upside down. [shouts of approval] I beg your pardon for such a description. I beg your pardon, but this is how I feel. We cannot agree to any 3-person groups. We shall discuss here, all together, in the entire composition and even with the group of experts, but we shall discuss our demands which are ours. [applause]

[Jagielski] Gentlemen, I do not insist on any old ones. I said that, I believe that, and I expressed the viewpoint, that a renewal of the functioning of trade unions must take place. You said, for instance, that there must be new [words indistinct]. I would suggest that in accordance with what we said at the beginning [words indistinct] we should make a start on (?preliminary) talks. It stands to reason that it is difficult to form an attitude toward [words indistinct]

Okay, there can be more people in each team but let us think little first.

[Unidentified voice] [passage indistinct]

[Jagielski] You gentlemen speaking here, both Mr Gwiazda and Mr Lis said themselves that some things must be made more precise, as they are too general in your statements.

[Unidentified voice] We can simply treat as unofficial and not binding what they say in these teams of three?

[Jagielski] Sure. I also suggest that what is said by these experts, or not experts... let us not call them threes, let us call them groups--we do not treat all this as binding. This is only to make attitudes more precise, on the basis of international convention. We have quoted the convention; we are also now quoting the convention. We agree with this. This will not be a binding stance for anybody. We shall come and present yet another possible proposal [words indistinct]. This is a very serious matter. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified voice] We want to establish such trade unions as will have the confidence of the community, and we are convinced that the present trade unions will have to change, too. This will be the guarantee--the existence of many unions which will not break away from the community. [passage indistinct]

[Chairman] As the chairman I propose to close at this point. We shall send these teams of three and [words indistinct]. We shall establish what the communique should be and [words indistinct]. Perhaps we could continue the talks later today if it is possible.

[Unidentified voice] But surely we could have received the proposals earlier?

[Chairman] (?In an hour or so we shall agree on it with the plenum) and (?we shall despatch the groups of three).

[Unidentified voice] Okay, but everyone wants open negotiations and not behind closed doors.

[Chairman] These will not be binding. This is not a decision of any kind. We simply want to discuss the whole thing and here at this forum we shall make the binding decisions.

[Jagielski] Mr Chairman, I agree with what you said, speaking as the head of the government commission.

[Chairman] Thank you.

[Jagielski] Thank you gentlemen.

[Announcer] We have broadcast a full report of today's session of the government commission for examining the demands of the workforces of Gdansk Voivodship, headed by Mieczyslaw Jagielski, member of the PZPR Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, with the Interfactory Strike Committee at the Gdansk shipyard. We apologize to listeners for poor technical quality caused by conditions at the time of recording.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON STRIKE SITUATION IN SZCZECIN

Health, Educational Services Strike

LD261604 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Excerpt] In Szczecin the health service and educational establishments have now joined the strikers, but they have not ceased to function.

Essential Services Operating

LD270724 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] Yesterday brought about a further worsening in the difficult situation in Szczecin and Pomorze Zachodnie [Western Pomerania] region. In the city and voivodship over 200 work enterprises are on strike. Some work forces announced that they are on strike but have not stopped working. As before, Szczecin inhabitants are most inconvenienced by the lack of municipal transporation. Only taxis and some buses belonging to work enterprises are operating. Car drivers usually give lifts to people and take children to school. [words indistinct] The health service, commerce and services are working efficiently. It is particularly important to stress that there is calm and general order and security in the city and voivodship. In these difficult days the inhabitants of Szczecin and Pomorze Zachodnie are showing great discipline and a high understanding of responsibility.

There is order at the work enterprises and full protection of common property is ensured. The government commission continues to review in depth the demands and suggestions submitted by Szczecin work forces.

Commentary on Demands

LD270930 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0435 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Wladyslaw Leniszewski commentary]

[Text] The 8th day of the strike has passed in Szczecin. A week ago it involved 12 enterprises, today the number of the striking work forces is many times larger. Involved also are those enterprises which have raised claims without interrupting work. In numerous enterprises the majority of the work forces is staying there around the clock. A specific adaptation to abnormal living conditions has taken place--blankets and mattresses have been brought in from hostelries. Family members have taken on supply duties, although enterprises' food supply centers are functioning.

From the televisionscreens and from the radio we have already had formulations about the labor character of the strike--about discipline, responsibility, about the dialogue with the government commission which is aimed at the elaboration of a joint position.

Many matters have clarified themselves since the fourth plenum of the Central Committee, and chiefly the most important one, the sources of social dissatisfaction. The striking work forces are aware of the economic losses which are accumulating with every day of interrupted work; they are aware of the need to make good these losses.

Right now they are seeking an answer to the most important question: How should the interests of the work forces be protected in future? How should they be protected against rash decisions at every level? How will they participate in the making of decisions which are of essential importance for the living conditions of individuals and the general public?

A large part of the proposals concerns wages and social matters, and also conditions of production. The proposals from industrial enterprises are concrete and honest.

There must be an answer to them. Yet this is no easy matter. For instance, by how much can wages and the fund of social payments be raised to make the increases real and not inflationary? We know that a factor limiting production, and also wages and supplies to the market, is material shortages. The shipyard workers have felt this with particular acuteness, thus the demand for an improvement in material supplies. This can be realized quickly only through an increase of the country's indebtedness; more slowly through the limiting of certain production sectors, effectively through thrift at every level. Not all the answers can, therefore, be realized in a short space of time, and not all can be popular, because they have to be sensible.

A specific adaptation to the abnormal living and working conditions has taken place after 7 days of the strike, but there is awareness of this irregularity and the desire to begin a creative life. It would be an exaggeration to say that they never took place, but for a long time such profound discussions have not taken place at enterprises and homes in our country. We must all remember in these discussions that our superior goal should be the well-being of Poland and the Poles.

REPORTER NOTES STRIKERS' DEMANDS, PROGRESS OF TALKS

LD270658 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] PAP reports that many work forces, among them the work forces of the Warsaw car factory, Ursus, the transport equipment factory in Swidnik, Befama in Bielsko-Biala and a number of other work enterprises are asking questions about the character of demands and how the talks of the government commission with the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk are progressing. A PAP journalist has received information that the government commission has presented proposals for solving pay and welfare problems on the principle of taking into consideration the demands of the workers and, on the other hand, the realistic capabilities of the country.

These concerned increases in wages, commissioning of the mechanisms which make up for increases in the cost of living, increases in home building, increases in family benefit payments and retirement benefits and pensions.

Some of the demands are excessive, in comparison with the realistic capabilities of the country, for example, further lowering of the retirement age or longer, paid maternity leave. These are matters which will be reviewed in the future, when the conditions for it have been created. Also a number of other demands were reviewed. The main difference of opinion concerns the structure of trade unions. The Interfactory Strike Committee is putting forward a demand for constituting separate trade unions. The government commission gave assurances that the authorities will, within the framework of the existing class trade unions, encourage changes which will make it possible for them to become fully self-governed organizations, deeply linked with the needs of the work forces and consistently defending their interests and rights.

TRADE UNIONS CENTRAL COUNCIL HOLDS 16TH PLENUM; CHAIRMAN REPLACED

Discussion, Recommendations

LD262040 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1733 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] The plenary meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ] was held in Warsaw today. The meeting was devoted to the conclusions resulting from the present sociopolitical situation in our country as regards the trade union movement.

The debates ended just before our bulletin and were observed by Andrzej Kozera.

[Kozera] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. I was present at the 16th plenum of CRZZ all the time. This will be the first report containing only the most important problems.

The plenum made a critical assessment of the activity of the trade union movement, and conclusions resulting from the present social crisis were drawn. In the opinion of the CRZZ a deep renewal of the trade union movement, broadening of its competence and tightening of links with work forces as well as effective defense of their interests are needed.

The plenum indicated weak points in the work of trade unions which did not show enough courage in counteracting decisions affecting the interests of working people. It must also be admitted that they did not have the proper conditions at their disposal to demand more resolutely the implementation by the administration of resolutions and demands in accordance with the interests of working people.

The key problem debated during the discussion is the defining of correct relations between trade unions and the state and economic administration at all levels. Of particular importance here is to ensure a really semi-decisive participation of trade union organizations in the outlining of long-term and yearly socioeconomic plans. This concerns in particular employment, social allowances, expenditure on welfare activity, the individual and communal consumption fund, health protection, safety and hygiene at work as well as social building and housing. Above all, however, this concerns the wages policy and the cost of living.

It was stressed that no decisions concerning wages, prices and cost of living can be taken without the approval of trade unions. It was also stressed that the most urgent duty of trade unions at present is to consistently ensure that the economic and state administration satisfy various demands submitted by work forces during the present strikes and discussions being held at present at various enterprises.

The need for broadening and deepening the control function of trade unions as regards the activity of the state and economic administration as also pointed out. The CRZZ plenum when assessing its internal life stressed the need for energetic correction of its own errors and placed the CRZZ Presidium under an obligation to carry out a critical assessment of the style and methods of work of trade unions. This assessment should define the sources and causes of the weakness in the trade union movement and find ways for its prompt improvement. It should become the basis of the trade union's work, of the strengthening of its role in resolving all problems in the life and work of work forces. The assessment and the conclusions resulting from it will be the subject of the deliberations of the next CRZZ plenum and should also be comprehensively debated during the discussion to be held before the ninth Congress of Trade Unions.

In connection with the demands submitted by work forces of certain enterprises concerning elections to enterprises' councils, the plenum recommended a speedy settlement of the procedure for holding these elections in accordance with the statutes of industrial unions.

The plenum adopted a timetable for work on a bill on trade unions. The law is to guarantee conditions for an independent and autonomic functioning of the trade union movement in the system of socialist democracy and an effective protection of the interests of working people.

The plenum advocated, among other things, that the law guarantee the trade unions control over a broadly conceived social policy of the state, implemented by the administration and government, and an independence to make legislative initiatives. In the opinion of the trade union activists the law should also guarantee the right to raise objections against erroneous decisions of the state and economic administration which infringe the interests of working people. In the case of exhausting all other means of influencing a change of such decisions, the trade unions should have the right to strike.

The trade unions bill will be submitted at the Sejm this year following thorough discussion at industrial enterprises and at the Ninth Congress of Trade Unions. The congress, it has been announced, is to be convened at the end of November.

The plenum recommended to the CRZZ Presidium the speeding up of work on a bill on workers self-government. The law ought to widen the rights of the conferences of workers self-government, especially within the range of adopting plans, which cannot be altered without the consent of the workers' self-government. The law should increase the participation of workers in the management of the industrial enterprise and give the self-government the right to reach conclusions concerning the leading cadres of industrial enterprises.

The plenum appointed a commission for the control of living costs and adopted the trends of its activity. Representatives of industrial enterprises, industrial unions, and scientists will take part in the work of the commission. The results of the commission's work will enable the trade unions to present an independent and personal position vis-a-vis the government in matters concerning the shaping of wages, prices, and costs of living. The findings, reflecting a true state of affairs in individual professional and social groups, should become the basis for the elaboration of conclusions on compensation for increasing costs of living. The work of the commission will also serve for the fixing of the position of trade unions in the question of the social minimum.

The CRZZ has turned to the work forces, to the wide trade union aktiv, and also to the strike committees for a joint and thorough discussion of all problems in whose solving the working people are vitally interested and for a drafting of practical conclusions for the routine activity of the trade union movement.

The activity of trade unions should find a broader reflection in the mass media, television, radio and the press. What matters mainly is to show the trade unions in specific actions, their role in the deciding of topical work force problems. Independent initiatives taken by the leadership of the trade union movement should be shown and its opinions of proposals made by the government which concern the vital matters of working people.

Perhaps I should add a word about the new chairman Romuald Jankowski: Born 1921, so he is 59 years old, if I am not mistaken; he is a metalworker, chairman of the Metal Workers Trade Union; he worked in Warsaw in the Ursus and in Lublin.

Thank you; that's all, thank you for giving me space in your bulletin.

Biography of New Chairman

LD270632 Warsaw PAP in English 2330 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug, (PAP)--Romuald Jankowski was born in 1921 to a teacher's family. His first job was that of a lathe operator in a Warsaw metal plant. During the Warsaw uprising of 1944 he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp. After the war he worked in industrial plants and schooling institutions in the Wroclaw and Lublin voivodship.

After the war he was an activist of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). After the unification of the workers' movement in 1948 he became an activist of the PUWP. Among his other functions he fulfilled that of the propaganda secretary of the PUWP District Committee in Lublin and, from 1967, of the secretary of the PUWP Works Committee at the WSK transport equipment plant in Swidnik. In 1970 he was elected chairman of the Voivodship Council of Trade Unions in Lublin, and in 1977 metal workers entrusted him with the function of the chairman of the main board of their union. Since the 7th Congress of Trade Unions he has been the member of the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION DISCUSSED

LD261756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] The decisions adopted by the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee are the subject of debates taking place in a dignified atmosphere and full of concern during party meetings--often open ones--in factories and institutions, and at the workbench throughout the country.

The decisions of the plenum and the closing speech by Edward Gierek are regarded as an augury of a determined action serving the examination of difficult and complex political, social and economic problems faced by our country, for the restoration of a climate of mutual trust between the authorities and the community.

It is being stressed at the meetings that the most important matter is honest work whose effects could remove the existing tensions.

Wroclaw, Krakow Meetings

LD270506 Warsaw PAP in English 2145 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (PAP)--A critical analysis of the causes of the country's present economic difficulties, grievances and weaknesses which have grown over years, and against that background the pressing need to find ways of solving them in accordance with the social interests and expectations--those are the main problems discussed at party meetings, often with the participation of non-affiliated members of the crews. The voices of people from different social occupational groups recorded today by PAP correspondent are permeated with a profound concern for such solutions which will restore the climate of mutual confidence between the party and the community, which will contribute to the elimination of the existing tensions, to curing the country's social, economic and political situation.

Party meetings were held today at the factories of Wroclaw. They were marked by civic responsibility for the country's future fate, for the conditions of normal life and peaceful work.

Jozef Tekiela, technican at Hutmen non-ferrous metals metallurgical and processing works said: We listened very attentively to the speech of Edward Gierek, which we believe to announce the start of right changes in the economy and in the party work. I think the proper authority should be restored to the trade unions, they should be reorganized to look after the interests of the working people more honestly and effectively. Both I and my comrades are expecting the decisions of the 4th PUWP CC Plenum to be consistently implemented.

At a meeting of Krakow railway activists, one of the participants in the debate worker Jozef Kuchnia suggested that the level of earnings should be kept equal for people employed on the same posts in different branches of the economy. Discussed at the meeting were also matters related to careless finish of flats.

Everyday shortcomings and grievances hindering production were also discussed at party meetings in work establishments of Opole Voivodship. The workers criticized bureaucracy and dishonesty and said that many wrongs could be avoided if everybody were obliged to perform his professional duties rightly and wrongly.

The above mentioned and many other problems were the subjects of party meetings in the voivodships of Czestochowa and Sieradz. Participants in the meetings said that peaceful, creative and committed work is the interest of all Poles.

Democratic Party Meeting

LD262040 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (PAP)--A session attended by chairman and secretaries of the voivodship organs of the Democratic Party was held at the party's Central Committee today. It was presided over by Chairman of the Democratic Party CC Tadeusz W. Mlynczak. Poland's current political, economic and social situation was discussed.

Deep concern was voiced during the session in connection with the protracted strikes in some enterprises. It was stressed that the strikes aggravate the country's complicated socio-economic situation, and render difficult the solution of just postulates and needs as well as problems and delays that arose earlier. It was stated that all problems of Poles, including the most difficult ones, can and should be settled in peace and order, without work stoppages, without complicating everyday life, with the sense of care and responsibility for the wellbeing of the motherland, the wellbeing of the closest people.

The Democratic Party confirms in its everyday activity that the unity of the Polish nation is the supreme value. It is this unity that the Democratic Party, together with the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party and non-party people, is loyal to and will be serving as best as it can. The Democratic Party is undertaking intensified efforts to increase the contribution of the small-scale industry, services, trade and crafts to the easing and settlement of the present difficulties.

WARSAW TELEVISION CARRIES CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI 26 AUGUST SERMON

LD262325 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1810 GMT 26 Aug 80

["Excerpts" of sermon by Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, primate of Poland, during church festivities in Czestochowa on 26 August--recorded]

[Text] A short while ago the father general read a letter sent by the Holy Father, John Paul II, on the occasion of today's festivities. Obviously the Holy Father is very concerned that we should be aware of his presence with us and of his prayers among us. This is why I also received in Warsaw a special and personal handwritten letter from the Holy Father in which he refers to the holiest mother, who has been given for the defense of our nation.

And if at any time children of God, we realize that this most miraculous, great and constant help exists, which has been given for the defense of our nation by the Mother of God, the mistress of Jasna Gora and queen of the Polish crown, then maybe especially now in these times which, as you know, are particularly difficult, grave, and which require first of all calm, stability, reflection, circumspection and responsibility for the whole Polish nation--because it is, in fact, under the special protection of the holiest mother, and she is defending it. Nevertheless she is no doing it without our own daily assistance--if at any time, children of God then it is now, precisely now that we realize when the nation to some extent is becoming aware of its responsibility, its duties, its rights in the fatherland. But, as I said, all this requires great reflection, circumspection, calm and a spirit of truth, without which there is virtually nothing despite the most justified reasons, which we might cite.

We have our historic experience that she is there for the protection of the Polish nation. This is the experience of centuries. This is this special incentive for us, the Poles, when working and toiling; we know that she is there for our defense. But people who are being guided by this spirit also know that it is at the same time an incentive for our actions, for our daily work, the daily toil, that she is there to help. This is why, children of God, we know that Jasna Gora is, in the opinion of the nation and in our history, a kind of fortress, a kind of watchtower, a kind of fortified castle, where we are attaining calm, attaining stability, where we calm down, where we begin to reflect soberly from the viewpoint of our duties, tasks and maybe also rights.

And thus, when everybody's eyes are turned toward Jasna Gora, it is generally known that it is impossible to raise one's hand against Jasna Gora. This is a mystery of ages, some special grave of divine providence which has been in operation here for six centuries. But when we face this historical experience, when we know that, when all is said and done, it is so, that even when all the lights seem to have gone out for our nation, in the words of the great enemy and invader who attacked both the nation and the church in Poland many years ago, then she remains--the Black Madonna of Jasna Gora.

However, let us remember that an effective defense of the people through the Holy Mother also requires efforts of our party. The defense which we expect on many occasions, and at the last moment, cannot mean passively awaiting for help from heaven.

In order to deserve the protection of the Holy Virgin it is necessary to fulfill our duties in everyday living, duties which rest on everybody's shoulders, duties which rest on our families, on every one of our families, duties which rest on our public life, on our professional life and on our working life. The better we perform these duties, everyday duties, the more, my beloved childred we can rest assured that help will come. What is more, the better and the more consciously with a sense of our responsibility for the nation we perform our everyday duties, the more justified and the better grounded are our rights, and then in the name of these rights we can also make demands. Otherwise it is impossible.

This is the foundation of the structure, and at the same time this is the amazing mystery of the life of the whole community, the family community, the national community and the state community. There are no other ways to achieve it. If at this moment, beloved children of God, the hour for examining the conscience there is an awakening of a sense of responsibility for the nation, then linked with it must be a sense of responsibility for the life of each of us, for the life of our family, all our families, for the life of the whole nation, for the life of the state.

I emphasize and repeat, and I will go on repeating this during these joint reflections, that with this is linked a sense of duty which has to be performed. With this will be linked also the sense of truth which we gain in our everyday life. There thus exists a common responsibility. Why? Because none of us is without sin, none of us is free of guilt, and thus the guilt is also common to us all. And it can assume various forms.

For instance, guilt resulting from the violation of personal human rights, which is linked with the moral and social deformation of man, guilt resulting from the failure to defend our rights, which we should do as men, always, however, in as much as we carry out duties; and there may exist and there can be a lack of that awareness, a kind of passiveness and insensitiveness to the common good, to public good, the good of the family, the nation and the state. Sometimes the concern for personal interest, concern for professional interests, may take the upper hand over the interests of higher categories such as the interest of families and the interest of the nation. Our national and civic maturity requires that we should have a sense of responsibility not only for our personal matters but also for the nation as a whole.

Let us remember, beloved, with that difficulty after 125 years of subjugation we regained our freedom. And when we spent much time in domestic disputes and arguments we were threatened, and our freedom was threatened by an immense peril, and the nation rose to its feet and with a prayer rushed to defend its fundametal rights. Divine providence tests our faithfulness; the holy mother came to defend our nation. We made efforts that were not always in accordance with God's law, and we have been tested again, so painful and so purifying--of which Holy Father Pius XII said that Warsaw became for its citizens a crucible that refines in fire, thence came the purification.

Evidently God has his plans, desiring that we serve him faithfully and in a worthy manner, and thus he tests us so that we may better appreciate the gift of freedom and so that we should redeem this time of freedom with great care, by means of honest, decent and conscientious work.

However, children of God, it is right and proper, with regard to the anxieties which fill our country from one end to the other, to take a close look at the permanent assets of our national community, the assets which must be preserved, saved, respected, and which must function and operate for the good of our whole national community. And in this our joint reflection at Jasna Gora, if we have come to the Holy Mother of Jasna Gora as the one who has been entrusted with the protection of our nation, we have not come here in order to accuse someone, in order to aggravate matters and to spread disquiet.

We have come here to recall some issues, as behooves the servants of the church who follow the example of Christ. We have come to speak of what should be respected and what should be done in order that peace and order return to our country.

I would like to start, first of all, from a duty which rests on the shoulders of all of us, every single one of us, priests and bishops, fathers of families, representatives of the various communities living in our country.

The duty which rests on the shoulders of the whole nation and on the authorities which have assumed responsibility at this stage for the development of national life and for the proper use of the hard-won freedom in the interests of our country. This is one element which, for the sake of public peace, prosperity and normal development of our life as a nation and state, should not be infringed.

The second element is the order of family life. Polish bishops have said a great deal on the subject both in their letters to the faithful, in the memoranda addressed to the state authorities and in the course of the work carried out by the committees of bishops and in pastoral, teaching, liturgical, cultural and other activities. All this amounts to great work and as a result of this work we have tried to realize that the family must occupy the leading position in our national life. This prime position of the family must provide, as it were a cradle for the prime position of human life and of the defense of human life, a guarantee for Poles about to be born that they, formed by the power of God under the hearts of their mothers, may safely live in the country of Poles, begin their own personal history, develop it, serve their country and then return to their Heavenly Father, to that Father from whom all life takes its beginning.

Linked with this prime position of family and of human life, as well as of economic order, will be the task, a family task, of the upbringing of the nation, both personal and social. In other words, the task of giving young Poles such directions in life that they should enter public activities as well as social and professional activities with, first of all, a sense of duty, and second awareness of their rights within their country. As we have already said, the order of family life requires religious freedom, cultural freedom, and security of family life. Consequently it is necessary to safeguard our families from any form of pedagogical or social experiments so as to return to our families the tranquility of family life. And so, beloved, wherever it is required, it is necessary to refrain from anything that might undermine the established life of the family, for instance, the undermining of family life through eviction of people from their own houses, from their own agricultural farms, or from some homestead, sometimes won with great efforts and through lifelong savings, which provides space for the family life. All this should be avoided in our country.

There is above all, an ardent and particular need from the viewpoint of the tasks of the woman in the family, the mother, to defend the dignity of woman, mother, young girl, her purity, the respect which is due to her, because mothers serve their families and serve the country and must not be treated to indignities as unfortunately often has happened, particularly on those occasions where numerous films have been shown, films imported from abroad at a heavy cost of foreign currency expended in order to demoralize the nation and ridicule women. In Poland women enjoy great respect and this respect should be preserved. Naturally women themselves must cooperate in order to make the defense of that respect an easier task. We must avoid, at all costs, the demoralization and corruption of our respect and our love for our mothers, for our sisters and for each woman whom through her father's love God called upon to serve in this Polish land, in this alma mater of the nation to be alma mater of the domestic family. This is an urgent task because we can see an unprecedented development of moral disorder. What is at stake is the attitude toward women and the respect for women, the appreciation of the role of women and their place in family life, in the life of society and the nation. All this must be subjected to a process of renewal, to a process of rehabilitation. This will be achieved not by a means of statutory laws but through the cooperation of you, fathers and mothers, young men and women. In this way the order of family life and home life will be strengthened.

And now the third element: The order of social and professional life. The life of a family and that of a state are organized in such a way that certain tasks are allocated. In the family there are the tasks performed by the mother which the father will not be capable of performing, and there are tasks of the father which are beyond the mother, and there are tasks which they must both perform. Yet even in a family there develop tasks of the elder brothers and sisters toward their younger siblings, which means that there is a range of tasks. These tasks are conditioned not only by purely economic requirements, but also by moral postulates, and thus to some extent by religious postulates. Therefore the church hallows various professional groups.

You, priest, know well that you are frequently approached by farmers with the request that you by our prayers and priestly authority should bless their farming efforts. You are invited to go to factories to bless the interiors in which people work. You are invited by those in charge of various machines and vehicles to bless them. This you do in order that the duties undertaken by those in charge of that machinery be performed properly. These duties are the vocation of the men in question and constitute their interests. All this requires, merely by the very nature of things and also because of a moral injunction, that it be treated with respect so that the whole may function, that is, that it may make the contribution of energy and valuable assets needed for a normal development of the life of the whole national community. Hence there also exists, children of God, professional morality, and we are speaking of this.

Today people speak increasingly often of medical morality and ethics, of the morality of nurses, of the morality of farmers, of the morality of technical or physical workers who manage great machines for which they are responsible because of the fact that they are exceptionally expensive. And we could give a whole list of those sections of human labor in which is needed, apart from mechanical and professional proficiency, God's blessing. Thus there exists professional morality.

Hence it is necessary that certain duties of the conscience should satisfy the requirements of this professional morality. Conscientiousness in professional work is of tremendous importance for professional work in an environment in which people may personally improve themselves. And this is why moral stimuli must also exist here. We must not forget this.

Today, beloved, we complain so often about the inefficiency of various social and professional institutions. One profession makes complaints against another profession. We know how to enumerate the bad results of work and management. We know how to talk about those who shirk work. We know how to talk about the most varied unsuccessful pieces of work. We know how to reject them and condemn them in order to blame another profession. But let us just remember how we carry out our own profession; let us just remember what is our contribution to social life and the national economy. No doubt there can be obstacles everywhere.

When I was travelling here this morning from Warsaw I was looking at the fields. Some had been harvested and ploughed. Others are full of maize-sheaves and in others the maize has still not been cut. Of course, this can depend also on climatic conditions (?in the whole area). Nevertheless, this is connected with the conscientiousness of work and with the good quality of work. We know that when there is not good work then the best economic system will be unsuccessful and we will only multiply debts and borrowing. And all this will be eaten up straight away because there is no prosperity without work. And even though man has the right to leisure, and even though, sometimes when there is no other means, man has the right to make his stance known--even if this is by refusing to work--we nevertheless know that this is a very expensive argument, an argument so expensive that they burden the whole national economy and affect the life of the nation, family and every person in some negative way or other.

Professional work is not only an economic element but it is also a social, moral element and is an element in spiritual formation. If this spiritual formation is deepened then all the national economy stops limping. And so, my beloved, it is work and not inactivity which is the ally of man, his ally in his personal life, in family and domestic well-being and in national prosperity. The harder and more conscientiously we work the less we will borrow.

I said this a week ago in Wambierzyce in the southwest corner of our fatherland during the coronation of the small figure of Our Lady, the queen of families, when people looked to me and asked me what to say. I say that first we need honest work. Second, we must avoid waste and we must save. Third, we must borrow less and export less [as heard]. And fourth, we must supply more to people and better satisfy their everyday needs, because a laborer is worthy of his hire.

This was accepted with understanding. I consider that sometimes not much is needed to be postulated, requested and demanded to ensure that order prevails in Poland. The more so that demands can be justified, and in general they are just, but it is never possible to satisfy demands immediately, today. Their satisfaction must be spread over a period of time. And thus talks must be held. In the first stage the demands of fundamental importance will be satisfied; in the second stage, others. Later third ones and the tenth ones. For such are the requirements of everyday life.

You dear mothers, you know how sometimes your daughters, who want to be smartly dressed, ask so much of you: Dear mother, give me this and that and yet another thing. And you too, you do not satisfy these needs at once. You reply: All right, my child, I appreciate and understand this, but you must wait awhile. It is sometimes also the case in public life that we have to wait. Do not forget that we are a nation which is still building its prosperity. Remember, children of God, that we have recovered our fatherland and achieved our freedom through ruins. As a newly appointed bishop of Warsaw I was going to my cathedral on heaps of rubble. Today I travel on a smooth road.

Reborn Poland has rebuilt its losses, rebuilt Warsaw, Gdansk, Wroclaw, Poznan and many other towns which were in ruins with patience and work but this did not take place overnight.

We must constantly have leading circumspection, called in Latin prudentia gubernativa, or circumspection of management. And we know that in the great toil of the reconstruction of Poland much has been done in the fatherland, but much more still remains to be done, and we must multiply the efforts of work, deepen its moral level and sense of professional responsibility in order to bring about proper order.

This, children of God, is a concise and short, maybe not so short, examination of the national conscience which we are making in front of her, who has been given to defend our nation.

Let us defend ourselves, and others will defend us. And let us defend ourselves by fulfilling our duty; when we fulfill them we will have even greater claims to demand our rights.

Now, maybe against the backdrop of the explanation, we will understand our duty better, and also our rights, our neglect, and our personal, domestic and family, social, professional and economic errors. Then, we can see that we also commit errors to some degree. Which one of you is without sin? Let us not look around, let us look into our own conscience and see where we fall short, and then we will see that today's painful situation is some kind of felicitous guilt, felix culpa, which brings us to the understanding of our duty to our fatherland and the tasks which have to be fulfilled in the fatherland.

After the Holy Mass, as usual, when we face her who has been given to defend the Polish nation, we will renew the Jasna Gora pledges which contain a list of our duties to be performed. Hence they form the proper ending for the meditation which I have presented to your eyes and consciences, my children of God, for you and for me. Amen.

'GREAT INTEREST' IN CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI SERMON

LD271112 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] There has been great interest shown in the extensive excerpts appearing in today's papers of the sermon delivered by Cardinal Wyszynski in Czestochowa. Despite the fact that it was broadcast yesterday in all radio and television programs and rebroadcast this morning in a local program of the Gdansk broadcasting station we continue to receive many telephone calls asking for yet another repeat of the cardinal's sermon.

The public of the coastal area is observing with solemnity and calm the most important current events. We in the coastal area hope that commonsense and a good understanding for the interests of every individual person and of the whole country will make it possible to quickly settle all justified issues.

POPE CABLES WYSZYNSKI ON POLISH FEAST DAY

LD261510 Vatican City in English to Central and West Europe 1345 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Today, August the 26th, Poland celebrates the feast of Our Lady of Czestochowa, and this morning, John Paul II did the same at Castel Gandolfo when he celebrated mass in Polish at 8 o'clock for about 300 of his fellow countrymen. During the rite, which lasted for about an hour, the holy father, who cocelebrated with 27 priests, did not give a homily. He distributed holy communion to about 150 of the faithful and at the end of the cocelebration he posed with the various groups for their photographic souvenir of the visit. Afterwards they all sang a very moving Polish chorus. [Begin recording in Polish] God, who through the centuries has surrounded Poland with splendor and glory, who has protected her from the dangers which threatened to destroy her, before your altars we raise the cry: Oh, Lord, bless our homeland. [End recording]

This morning the pope sent a telegram to the cardinal primate of Poland, Stefan Wyszynski; to the cardinal metropolitan of Krakow, Franciszek Macharski; and to the bishop of Czestochowa, Msgr Stefan Barela, who are all in Jasna Gora together with the majority of Polish bishops on the occasion of this feast of Our Lady, whose miraculous image has been venerated at the shrine of Jasna Gora for 600 years.

Cardinal Macharski presided at the solemn Eucharistic cocelebration for thousands of faithful at 11 o'clock and the cardinal primate gave the homily.

In his telegram, the holy father says that on the day when the Polish episcopate is gathered at the feet of Our Lady of Jasna Gora, on this, her day, he wishes to assure to pastors of the church and all the sons and daughters of the beloved homeland that he is close to them in spirit and prayer, united to them in faith, hope and charity to implore from on high that light and that strength which the church in Poland needs so much, especially at the present time, for the good of the entire nation, for the strengthening of her life in peace and justice.

Sharing with all my heart in the temporal and spiritual concerns of my fellow countrymen--the message goes on--I kiss with great affection the hands of our great mother on the day of her feast of Jasna Gora, hoping that in these maternal hands Poland and everything which constitutes this land will remain in keeping with the words of the act of consecration to mark the millenium. Uniting myself in the episcopal bond to the cardinal primate and to all the pastors of the church in Poland, the holy father concludes, I bless in the name of the most Holy Trinity all pilgrims and all fellow countrymen.

REPORTAGE ON SPEECHES AT PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Gdansk Shipping Personnel

LD261026 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0526 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] GLOS WYBRZEZA today publishes a summary of speeches made at the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee by Czeslaw Drozdowicz, member of the Central Committee and Polish ocean lines boatswain, and by Jan Labedzki, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Gdansk shipyard party organization.

Czeslaw Drozdowicz pointed out, among others, that there is a definite link between the disproportions in the country's economic development, accumulating over the past few years, felt acutely in the coastal region where the huge shipyard and port-maritime potential was, in effect, not being used due to disharmonious development.

As for Jan Labedzki's speech, this member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Gdansk Shipyard party organization demonstrated that the situation which arose after the numerous stoppages at work in plants throughout the country had a bearing on the fact that there has come about an atmosphere of tension and uncertainty among the Gdansk coast public, all the more so because dissident centers from all over the country sustained and intensified such an atmosphere through numerous illegal publications.

Szczecin Officials

LD270936 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] Today's GLOS SZCZECINSKI [VOICE OF SZCZECIN] has published excerpts of speeches which were delivered by Stanislaw Miskiewicz, deputy Central Committee member [as heard] and first secretary of the Works Committee in Warski Shipyard, and Edward Pustelnik, Central Committee member [as heard] and tools locksmith at the Gryfia Shipyard in Szczecin, delivered at the fourth plenum of the Central Committee. Here are two excerpts of these speeches. Here is what Stanislaw Miskiewicz said at the plenum:

Correct conclusions should have been worked out and consistently implemented. The unanimous opinion is that this was not done; on the contrary, the errors made were further aggravated and everything went along a different path from the officially pronounced one. To support these statements I shall base my statement on the demands submitted by the work forces. In the economic postulates the work forces demand improvements in two directions: a full, well-balanced supply of materials which would end idle operations, improve labor organization, provide production for market and export and increase the wages of the workers and the supplies to the market, mainly as far as food products are concerned. Unfortunately, general criticism preceding the eighth congress and suggestions which were put forward then did not find reflection in the actions or the program which should have been conveyed to the nation as quickly as possible.

Excerpts of speech by Edward Pustelnik: It is true that in the present situation of high tension and social conflict demands of political character are emerging, but I would like to inform the comrades that the basic working masses in our shipyard want, first of all, well-organized work, decent wages and goods in ships which are necessary to have a proper life in accordance with the standards of our country, which reportedly stands tenth in the world in industrial production. Secondly, workers expect from the authorities, apart from the appeals for better work, vigorous action which will create conditions for such work. If such action is provided, I am convinced there will be decisive support by the majority of our workers for the party.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON EFFORTS TO CREATE 'PROLONGED CRISIS'

AU261250 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "In the Interest of the Working People"]

[Text] As the current press agency reports indicate, our very difficult situation is continuing.

Many production enterprises and installations in the coastal region, which are extremely important for our economy and for the life of our people, continue their downtime. At the same time, in some other regions of the country in which normal conditions have prevailed or have been restored we continue to encounter attempts to create unrest, to spread rumors and tales and to heighten tension. The misinformation and speculations spread by [certain] foreign radio stations that we know very well by their activities are also playing a considerable role.

This means that party aktivs have to continue to fulfill difficult but very important tasks. The situation requires that they should make unceasing efforts to explain and to organize things so as to bring back normal conditions of life everywhere.

We know that the reasons that have induced the crews of some production enterprises to strike and to stop work are varied and complicated.

The awareness of those reasons was reflected in the speeches made by the first secretary and the premier, who presented emergency and long-term decisions as well as programmatic proposals to respond to many demands. Many other postulates are being examined by special government commissions chaired by vice premiers. No reasonable person will demand that this work should produce immediate results if it is to be treated seriously.

It would therefore seem that there are enough reasons for returning to work for good, for not increasing the already enormous losses and for ensuring everywhere the necessary elementary order, without giving up constructive discussions.

What is preventing this?

As in many other factories throughout the country, people in the coastal factories have advanced a number of demands with regard to social and economic conditions. Some of them seem extremely simple and justifiable: For example, the demands for an apartment for everyone or for complete market supplies.

You will not find anyone in Poland who will not want an apartment and plentiful supplies, and the party is making unceasing efforts to meet these demands, which are its own as well. Everyone knows, however, that waving a magic wand will not meet them. People will have apartments when apartments have been built and the market will be full of goods when goods have been produced. Strikes are of no use in this.

There are also other socioeconomic demands, and even if they include the ones that exceed our present potential (for example, the demand that the retirement age should be fixed at 55 for everyone) they all can be discussed and can be used for jointly searching for the ways and means of meeting them all at once or gradually.

At the same time, as Comrade Edward Gierek said, some people who have taken advantage of the atmosphere of tension and excitement have put forward demagogic political slogans which, regardless of appearances, strike in the long run at the foundations of the system of People's Poland, at the elements of our security and national existence and at our people's unity. Unfortunately, not everyone is aware of the true meaning of such slogans.

Let us candidly admit that this means that attempts are being made to bring about a dramatic confrontation and a prolonged crisis within the country--a crisis that neither the working people in Poland nor any realistic forces in Europe and the world want because they know that it may put the fate of detente in Europe at risk. An unstable situation in Poland is not in the interest of peace. All the nations of Europe are linked by a common destiny as regards that issue. Only our enemies and the enemies of European cooperation and detente can crave for a further aggravation of the situation in Poland.

We must resolutely oppose these attempts and efforts. The work forces in production enterprises, all the patriotic social forces and, above all, our party must do this.

The development of events has created a state of affairs that requires the mobilization of the entire party, united activities by all party echelons, members and candidates and the rallying around the party of the nonparty working people who want peace and quiet and better living conditions.

The party knows very well the working people's problems because working people form the ranks of the party and are its members. The precongress and congress discussions revolved around those problems, which are our common worries and sore spots. The party wants to consistently eliminate them, as it clearly stated in its resolutions. It is precisely for these reasons that party ranks are submitting critical observations as to the speed and manner in which the appropriate managing and administrative bodies are implementing the congress resolutions. Resolute action will be taken to ensure that these bodies fulfill their duties.

We must--especially the party ranks--often return to these issues and search for the best and most effective methods of party work so as to ensure that the party's leading role is strengthened in close relationship with the masses.

However, today the most important issue for the entire party and for all its members is--together with nonparty people--to rally within a common front so as to ensure normal, orderly work, good order and discipline in production enterprises, offices and communal institutes--everywhere, in every job. We must do this in order to preserve social peace.

Our party is a party of work and struggle. Today we continue our work, but we have been challenged to an acute political struggle. For the good of our country we must win this struggle.

We must be fully committed to implementing our production tasks and our agricultural tasks, implementing at the same time the plan for switching some production lines to meet the needs of the domestic market, as Comrade E. Gierek has announced. We have to do this because it will enable us to solve socially urgent problems. Party members must lead in these activities and must give inspiring examples to others.

At the same time, it is our party duty to explain the essence of the slogans that the antisocialist forces are tring to spread within some worker committees, to pit them against the party, to antagonize our society and to sow confusion. In our work we must make it clear to the nonparty comrades that it is not their vital interests that are involved but the interests of those who are engaging in the activities that are in consequence harmful to the very workers class and to all our people.

We should be present wherever the situation requires our presence. We must through our presence, militancy, initiative and personal courage demonstrate our resolve to fulfill our statutory duties.

The spreading expectations of peace and the country's normal life must be fulfilled. Everyone knows that only under the conditions of the indispensable order is it possible to meet the demands submitted by the working people in the past few weeks and to implement the promises made by Comrades Edward Gierek and Edward Babiuch.

The party is over 3 million strong and its ranks contain the leading forces of the workers class, peasants and the intelligentsia of all our people. It counts among its members the activists with a rich experience of the struggles for national and social liberation and the activists who are young and full of initiative and the resolve to actively participate in the country's party and social life. The party is cemented by the profound conviction that the socialist road is just and that only socialist Poland can be truly independent and secure. We are cemented by the resolve to work for the good of our fatherland.

Today the party must fully utilize this strength.

The workers class is a natural social base of the party, which has been fighting for years for the implementation of the workers class' ideals. That is why we must everywhere tighten our bonds with the workers class and with all the communities of the working people, trying together with them to overcome our present difficulties.

Collective wisdom, the strength of our convictions and our work, dignified attitudes and common efforts--these are the factors that will decide Poland's future.

Like all our people, the party wants this future to be safe, peaceful and prosperous.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY WARNS AGAINST ANTISOCIALIST ELEMENTS

ID261458 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (PAP)--The PUWP Central Committee has presented its stand on what should be done in order that Poland enter the road to stabilization and prosperous development, the Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily said today. The first and foremost task is correct numerous mistakes, to return with consistency to the post-December 1970 policies, to the line of the 6th PUWP Congress which met with universal approval of the entire party and society. The key problem of the day is reaching of such social contract which would restore the normal rhythm of life and work to Poland and its economy, the daily said further.

Commenting on the role of trade unions, ZYCIE WARSZAWY noted that, regrettably, in very many cases they failed to fulfill their basic task--that of defending the interests of workers and fostering workers' self-government. "The dissatisfaction over the functioning of the unions has recently expressed itself in the call for free trade unions. What the workers mean by this is independence of unions from the administration, defence of the interests of the working class. Certain antisocialist circles, however, see political opportunities in this context: They are aiming to create an organization not at all socialist, but clearly oppositionist in nature. The PUWP Central Committee has made its stand on this matter clear. The party stands for class trade unions which would in an independent manner address themselves to, among other things, monitoring the cost of living, implementation of social and pay policies, fighting of cliques in work establishments, observance of the principles of social justice, etc."

Today we are faced with problems of the highest importance for all of us, with the need of extricating the country from a crisis, the Warsaw daily wrote. Let us discuss, let us correct mistakes, but first of all let us work normally.

TRYBUNA LUDU: ECONOMY DICTATES LIMITS TO CONCESSIONS

LD261512 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (PAP)--As already reported, the party paper TRYBUNA LUDU today printed a frontpage editorial concerning matters raised at last Sunday's 4th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee. The paper wrote, among other things:

"The 4th plenum of the CC made important political decisions. The decisions are the basis for actions already taken by the government. They have one direction: meet half-way the social demands, not only to restore law and order, but also re-build mutual social confidence. We must afford both an analysis of the mistakes and find a solution to swollen problems and overcome the crisis.

"We can do all that in an atmosphere of the restored rhythm of work. In an atmosphere of awareness that the problems which are difficult, sometimes even sore, are not solved rashly under the pressure of emotions. In a different kind of atmosphere the matter-of-fact discussion is joined by anti-socialist forces, forces which actually do not count with the national interest, with the interest of the widest circles of the community.

"Indeed, no other matter today, no other task is more pressing than the restoration of the normal rhythm in the life of the country.

"Poland cannot stop the normal rhythm of life because there are matters to be discussed. We cannot afford such a holiday. We cannot afford it not only for economic, but also for moral and political reasons. Whoever still fails to understand it, fails to understand the real dangers which inertia and disorder may pose to the country, the nation and the state."

The paper pointed to the need for such modification of the forms of socialist democracy as to tailor them to today's requirements.

"The widespread criticism of many trade union units that have got bureaucraticized is right. The striving to attain such transformations of a trade union organization that would enable it to function as a genuine spokesman of the workers' interests and as still another link of the workers' control is also right. Nowadays it is very desirable to transform Polish trade unions in this direction. They must be the link that controls the steps taken by the management concerning issues that are important for the works crews, although so far they have not been universally appreciated. There will never be too much control whose overriding goal is the genuine interest of the working people.

"All (?the changes) can be attained given the restored good pace of work and with the awareness that problems which are difficult and sometimes even painful will not be solved hurriedly and excitedly. Otherwise, in a different atmosphere, the business-like discussion is joined by anti-socialist forces and forces that in fact do not take the interest of the nation and of the widest social strata into account.

"The government has made decisions that meet the postulates of the working people. They aim to protect the standard of living of Polish families from a rise in the cost of living and to more equitably distribute what we as a society have. More decisions will come when Poland's economic and financial options are thoroughly analyzed and investment plans are examined and revised in an in-depth manner. However, to the very end we must be aware that the Polish economy and it alone defines the limits of these options.

"In making promises, the government cannot go beyond these limits. It is the easiest thing to make promises. But is not empty promises that are important now but what we can really do and what is really necessary and most urgent for the society. This is the gist of today's discussions with crews of factories and enterprises on wages and benefits."

PAP CITES CATHOLIC DAILY ON CURRENT CRISIS

LD261510 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (PAP)--In an extensive front-page editorial expressing the position of the Polish socially progressive Catholic movement, the Pax Association's Daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE today voiced the hope that "the painful developments of the last weeks may become salutary if the forthcoming 5th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee gets, as promised, to all the sources, without exception, of the serious political and economic crisis.

"Some of these have already been named. This applies to the disparities which emerged in the dynamic 1970's not only in the area of production, market or earnings, but also in socio-political relations. That includes the gap between the degree of consciousness developed by the society and the resultant growing thirst for self-management, on the one hand, and the existing management structures and the to date operation of the trade unions."

In six points, SLOWO POWSZECHNE presented the Catholic movement's understanding of the return to the post-December 1970 policy promised by PUWP First Secretary Edward Gierek. It said it was imperative to:

First: Present the society with the true picture of the current situation of the economy and state, in the mass media as well.

Second: Apply in practice the principle of a harmonious development of the economy, of competent and effective economic administration, ensured by strengthening the role of the central plan with a simultaneous increase in the self-dependence and responsibility of the lower levels of management and the plants themselves.

Third: Resume work, discontinued shortly after the 6th congress, on systematic reforms, concerning the entire functioning of the state's social and economic organism.

Fourth: Carry out a permanent and open dialogue on these subjects with the society.

Fifth: Step up pressure on the implementation of social justice, starting from the wages and the disability and old-age pension system.

Sixth: Apply in practice the principles of the cadres policy adopted after the 6th congress.

FORMER SEJM MEMBER SEES NO RETURN TO PRE-JULY SITUATION

DW260855 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Aug 80 pp 96, 97

[Article by Catholic Polish writer Stefan Kisielewski: "We Are Fed Up..."]

[Text] (DER SPIEGEL note: Stefan Kisielewski, 69, is living in Warsaw, he was a member of the Polish parliament for 8 years.)

It seems as though Western diplomacy is about to lose its favorite toy--the picture of a communist Poland which, though allied with the Soviet Union, at the same time is also liberal and humane, whose chief is on friendly terms with the chiefs of state of the West, who advances his smile and his fluent French in such pleasant way, who endeavors so much, on behalf of his people, for the cause of peace and the East-West dialogue.

No doubt such a nice, unproblematic communist Poland deserves being granted credits by the West in the amount of billions; it is immaterial that the people of that country do not have the faintest idea of how these funds are used.

Likewise it is immaterial that despite many raw materials and industrial riches, and despite the aforementioned financial injections, the standard of living of broad strata of the people of this country keeps declining.

Socialism is an expensive business indeed and needs to be financed by the capitalists. They are doing it, by the way, without protest, in the interest of peace, without asking whether the credits which are not linked with any conditions are destined for a totalitarian system, the ruling stratum and its doctrinal concepts, or for the humanization and rationalization of the system.

Who would ask about that, anyway? There is, by the way, no sense in democratizing and humanizing Poland since it is a liberal form of socialism, as Western politicians time and again like to express it in words full of pathos.

This whole idyllic picture of Poland, of a country which allegedly is devoid of problems and conflicts, naturally exists only in the imagination of naive people of the West to whom this picture helped them have a clear conscience and good digestion. In the same manner their generous financial donations were intended to help them steal out of the political problem of the East.

The Western statesmen wanted to believe in nice words, in the unity between the people and the government. They did not want to see the autocracy, the arrogance of the leading group of oligarchs, the fact that this group silenced the economic experts of the country, that mirages were juggled instead of a rational policy pursued.

These mirages were intended to cloak the centralist totalitarianism which has been consistently consolidated and enhanced for decades and which rules everything recklessly, from ideology up to the economy.

What the citizens, deprived of any right to an initiative of their own, have left is mere illegal activities and the search for protection under the wings of the church.

Suddenly, in July and August 1980, what is very well known to us in the country presents itself freely and easily to all the world.

How can one talk of socialism in a country in which the workers brought up in the Marxian spirit from childhood now declare that their dream ideal are trade unions of the capitalist variety?

Nor can the world overlook how deeply rooted the political conflict is in Poland even though the rulers there and their propaganda mouthpieces desperately try to convince all, and also themselves, that what is at stake here is not politics but exclusively the ham sandwich and the lines of shoppers in front of the stores.

But it is too late already, nobody will believe that anymore--just as they will not believe in the schizophrenic vision according to which the demands of the Gdansk shipyard workers are the result of the activities of a group of KOR mutineers.

It is quite possible, by the way, that the oligarchs in the end themselves were the ones that started to believe this nonsense which they disseminate. After all, this comes easier to them than believing that the working class is independently articulating itself here, that it ponders ideas and wants something.

True enough, the apprentice magician has been victimized here by forces which he himself unleashed. He did not, by the way, want these forces to gain access either to his own awareness or to that of others, also out of panicky fear of the big brother.

The big brother, however, makes a habit of invading wherever the party leadership threatens to become disobedient. This is not the case in Poland.

And at the moment the big brother probably is too much involved in world politics to arrange another Afghanistan for himself in the center of Europe now, of all times, just to save a bankrupt team.

Whatever may happen, even the worst, there is no longer any way back to the psychological-social and also international situation from before July this year.

Just recently a German temporarily staying in Warsaw asked me the following question: "What is transpiring here in your country, anyway? In Warsaw, blessed by the church and not disturbed by the state authorities, the 60th anniversary of the Pilsudski victory over the Bolsheviks was celebrated. In the coastal cities the workers revolt and hang up pictures of the pope. And the boss of your communist party is preparing for his trip to the Federal Republic to borrow another DM1.2 billion. Meanwhile, the whole world is trembling with fear that the big brother might invade your country and teach you a bloody lesson, nobody knowing how he should behave in such an event. What does all this mean, and where are you, anyway?"

Oh well, the answer is difficult, as is Poland's geopolicy and its history. The Poles live with their difficult history even though Poland's genuine history has not been taught in our schools for quite some time now.

For 200 years the specific situation of this country has been reflected by the titles of its well-known historical works, for example, "Germany, Russia, and the Polish Problem" or "Between Germany and Russia."

Indeed, our country which grew constantly weaker since the great era of the Jagello Dynasty, during the past 2 centuries has become the object of the actions and ideas of two great nations, nations that were also afflicted by great spells of madness: the Germans and the Russians.

In sequence, the Germans brought us the Order of the Knights of the Cross and the Prussian colonialization, then the Poland divider Frederick the Great and the liquidator of the Polish identity [Polentum]; Bismarck, and finally the embarrassing mythomaniac Wilhelm II and the murderous psychopath Hitler. We did not have any friends among you, despite the Saxon dynasty. [DER SPIEGEL footnote: Saxon Emperor Otto II called Polish Duke Boleslaw Chrobry "brother and fellow worker on the reich" during a visit to Gniezno in the year 1000]

The Russians, too, have presented us with a gallery of amiable figures. It is headed by Cathrine the Great, who was out for conquest and destruction, and who was by the way--no hard feelings--a German from Stettin. Then follow six known czars, and eventually Lenin and Stalin.

It would be useless to look for friends of Poland there; even the internationalist Lenin sent after some 2 years, after having recognized Poland's right to independence, the Red troops to the gates of Warsaw, hoping for a European revolution.

We also saved the Germans at that time, and they thanked us in September 1939 for it with the fourth division of Poland, implemented by the two most cruel schizophrenics of history, Hitler and Stalin. All further developments are known.

In this situation such people as the author of these words, who grew up in the free Poland resurrected after the partition, dreamed shortly before getting up that Poland is located due to a miracle, on a completely different spot of the world, and that the two great neighbors were left to their great fate.

We are fed up with being stuck at that uncomfortable place--like a wall that can be turned by the East as well as by the West.

But that is impossible, and the theory of two enemies has been compromised and cursed long ago. If history developed in a logical way, I would suggest the theory of two friends. Then I would go to the Russians and say:

My dear, we forgive you everything, we ask nothing from you, we are located in your bloc and we will stand at your side if demanded. But under one condition, please: Take back your socialist system which is beyond repair, take back also your totalitarian political system, it does not fit us.

We will manage somehow, our country is rich with regard to raw materials, the soil is fertile, we have developed our industry, but it must be administered by experts, by hired managers and not by occasional functionaries.

Regardless of how our political system may be, there is no need for you to be afraid of us: We will certainly not touch off a world war, we are not suicidal.

Thereafter I would go to the Germans and say: My dear, we forgive you everything, Frederick, Bismarck and also Hitler. But in exchange you must recognize our borders unanimously and without delay, because we have been out of Vilnyus and Lvov because of that Hitler.

We must live somewhere. And as regards the credits, stop throwing millions around which are being given blindly away, because this money is squandered. Paying them back and paying the interest rates will be a handicap for us for a long time.

Let us begin with rational cooperation that will take into consideration the needs and possibilities of both countries--which will change nothing about the fact that we belong to different political blocs.

This is how it could be if history were logical. But it is not.

It is insane and moody. One of its moods, for example, is the GDR state. Overly zealous with regard to Marxism it is surrounded by a wall so that its citizens should not flee accidentally. This is also German insanity.

So what is Poland supposed to do in this situation? The country must do the work from which the current government team wants to hold us back so zealously--it must cure the inner reasons and not the outer symptoms of the disease from which Poland is suffering. Significant structural reforms and decentralization measures must be initiated.

One prerequisite is naturally a political convulsion that can mobilize public opinion. Such a convulsion was created for us by the working people at the coast who were prepared to make sacrifices; now it must be continued and exploited.

There are many reform projects, some of them are natural. In Poland exists a collective of experts, scientists, economists, artists and sociologists of the so-called "DIP" ("Experience and Future"). It includes party members, Catholics and people without any party affiliation. Its analyses of the situation and reform projects, which basically go farther than the demands of the KOR committee, circulate in the form of brochures issued in Paris. In the country itself it is not permitted to discuss them, despite all the untrue assurances that freedom of discussion exists in Poland.

It is naturally a central problem that the recent social unrest in Poland has been touched off by workers. The development of the People's Republic was completely different from the way envisaged by the theory of Marx: The proletariat did not make the revolution; one has created the proletariat in a hardly industrialized country to make the revolution more credible and to justify it, a revolution implemented from above.

Moreover the revolution was ordered in a country that has been levelled through the Nazi occupation and territorial changes. The Nazis had expropriated large-scale industry in Poland, they had resettled some of the farmers, destroyed the cities and the bourgeoisie and murdered three million Polish Jews.

The peasant remained as a vital and strong class of the populace. He was the one against whom the Polish Workers Party, according to the Leninist-Stalinist rules, opened a lasting and merciless war by frequently building up the industry in a doctrinaire way and in contradiction to economic rules, thus strangling agriculture in some periods of time. A comparison with the free market clearly demonstrates the disproportions created in the course of long years, disproportions which often reflect an absurd picture of economic life in the country.

The pessimists asked the question: Will some reforms and the connected political changes be possible at all?

The answers to that question will depend on whether the big brother will realize that an international bankruptcy of Poland will not serve his interests, and that it would pay in order to avoid such a bankruptcy to sacrifice a bit of prestige and doctrine. The same is happening in Hungary also, by the way.

Alarming voices can be heard already about the irritating Polish situation. Maybe somebody will write again in the near future, as did a gentleman in DER SPIEGEL, that everything is the fault of the Poles due to their improper greed for freedom and sovereignty.

Many among us, however, are convinced that it is the fault of the West--due to its shortsighted egotism with which it is always prepared to abstain from understanding the problems of Eastern Europe, which today must be considered as central Europe.

The consequences of an inconsiderate partition of Europe must be faced by us at the Vistula and the Vltava, as well as the consequences of isolation from terms and systems. That cannot be patched up with money or diplomatic flirts.

It would pay to look together for a way out. After all, Europe is an entity somehow. After all, not only those nine rich countries which have usurped the name "European Community" count.

KOR: ONLY ECONOMIC, MORAL SUPPORT NEEDED FROM WEST

LD261249 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 22 Aug 80 p 6

[Jan Kronholm report: "KOR Asks Western Leaders To Put Pressure on Regime: Do Not Break Off Economic Aid to Poland"]

[Text] Political and trade union leaders in the West ought to exploit all channels to put pressure on the Polish regime. If these in power in Poland break off the talks with the striking workers there is a risk of a bloodbath, at the same time as detente and world peace are threatened.. Poland also needs massive economic help, says an appeal from the Polish opposition through its contact group in Sweden.

On Thursday the Swedish group was in contact with KOR members in Poland who have not yet been imprisoned and was asked to pass on the appeal. A similar appeal was also sent out via KOR'S contact group in London.

The appeal states that the situation in Poland is becoming more and more dramatic by the hour and the worst thing is that the authorities seem to be showing a total lack of understanding of the nature of the crisis.

The appeal stresses that the crisis is political. It is no longer possible to rule Poland with the old methods. The catastrophic economic position cannot be overcome without political reforms. The workers in Gdansk have understood this, the appeal says, and this is why their most important demand is for free trade unions. Only through the participation of broad social classes and through an open debate is it possible to reach a compromise which would be able to solve the acute crisis.

For this reason appeals are now being made to the West that trade union and political leaders should exploit all available channels to put pressure on the regime. According to Jakubs Swiecicki in the contact group it is especially important that the left's leaders--in Sweden Olof Palme and Lars Werner--should involve themselves in the matter.

What the regime must be made to see is that the workers' demands do not upset Europe's stability, on the contrary they are the only realistic and possible demands. If talks with strikers are broken off there is the risk of a bloodbath in Poland. At the same time the groundwork of new unrest and continued instability would be laid and world peace jeopardized.

The appeal also asks that loans and credits to Poland should not be broken off. Poland needs all possible economic aid.

Poland is a rich country with an able people, but needs a healthier economic system where the broad social groups are allowed to take part in running the country.

A massive aid injection to Poland today is an investment to preserve world peace, the appeal states.

At the Thursday press conference it was clear that members of the Polish opposition are extremely worried about reports that banking circles in the West are considering freezing credits to Poland.

"If Poland does not receive economic aid, this would mean a catastrophe," Jakub Swiecicki said. "Then the only thing that Gierek could do to put an end to the strikes would be to resort to armed intervention."

Reports that U.S. dock workers have refused to handle Polish goods in solidarity with the strikers were described by Swiecicki as a disservice.

Finally, the appeal stresses strongly that Poland does not expect anything more than moral and economic support from the West. No one wants military intervention. The Polish people are fully aware of what that would mean.

On the subject of the arrests of KOR members, members of the contact group said that these were not surprising in themselves. KOR members have also been arrested in the past. But what is surprising is that the regime is resorting at the present time to tactics that can only lead to new strikes.

The contact group does not think that there is any risk of KOR not being able to continue its work as a result of the arrest. There are other members who can take over the various tasks.

The question of what the Soviet Union can be expected to allow and not to allow was also raised and Alexander Ortowski, who together with Swiecicki and Maria Borowska represented the contact group, said that the Soviet Union must understand that it is not possible to rule Poland by the old methods. This would only lead to revolt after revolt.

He also stressed that the demands that are being made today are not irresponsible and do not threaten stability in Europe.

No one is demanding free elections, withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact or anything like that.

To the extent that such ideas exist they are limited to different small groups which have shown that they are completely without influence.

With regard to the important relationship with the church--the pope has granted medals to the members of the strike committee in Gdansk--Swiecicki said that it is to be hoped that the church will work as a calming factor if there are disturbances. That it then comes out and says: This is lost from the start, and can only lead to bloodshed.

We are relying on the church to realize what its responsibility is and to understand what Poland's national interests are."

CATHOLIC DAILY HAILS GIEREK 18 AUGUST SPEECH

AU261522 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 20 Aug 80 p 1

[Janusz Stefanowicz commentary: "In the Right Direction"]

[Text] Impatience with the increasing difficulties and disproportions in our country's economic and social life has been expressed in the increasing number of strikes. The initially high political culture of these strikes has been responsible for the fact that the authorities have established a dialogue with society, a feature that is worth stressing in the light of the past. Gierek's Monday speech has proved that the dialogue can be serious and honest.

We have reached a borderline, the crossing of which would dissolve the dialogue into a number of small details and would result either in superficial, short-term solutions or even in a feeling of frustration--in a cleavage between the authorities and the people, which would threaten a national catastrophe. One can discern two main reasons for this serious state of affairs. The first reason was the attempts by the managements of some factories to give minimum or evasive answers to the serious questions asked by the work forces that had stopped work; and the second is the short-term faith in money of those who have stopped work--money that is still devaluating--as being a panacea for all ills, even though money as a remedy is worth as much as a leukoplast.

In these circumstances all Poles who profess responsibility for the destiny of the nation heard First Secretary Edward Gierek's speech with a feeling of relief and appreciation. This statesman has drawn honest and far-reaching conclusions from the present strike situation and, above all, has stressed the need for agreement as to the solutions of the crisis--that is, the need for a democratic dialogue between workers and employers.

He also announced that the real incomes of the population will be safeguarded, the cost of living will be continuously analyzed and prices will be rigorously controlled. This constitutes a triple response to the more profound motives of the strikers. The state has pledged every effort to prevent any deterioration in the community's market and social conditions (no one expects that they can be improved in the immediate future) to maintain the policy of achieving the best social justice and to combat the main sources of inflation.

Our society becomes truly concerned only when it feels that the authorities do not see errors or do not intend to repair them. The first secretary's speech is helping to gradually disperse such doubts because it has promised large-scale reforms, the crux of which boils down to the acceptance of the principle of balance between the necessary centralization and the areas that call for decentralization. This prinicple applies to more than just the sphere of economic management. It also applies to the various aspects of sociopolitical relations, among which the need to reveal differences of opinion and to formulate joint solutions before a critical situation is reached seems to be a central demand. As Comrade Edward Gierek noted, this calls for a new approach to the role of the workers self-government conferences and trade unions as well as of the other social forces that genuinely seek to promote socialism in Poland. It was right to list the Catholics among these forces. It goes without saying, of course, that the antisocialist elements, whose activities were strongly and rightly condemned, are outside the pale of shared political responsibility.

One more aspect of Edward Gierek's speech is worth stressing. We have in mind Poland's role in maintaining European order. This role is based on the correct understanding of Poland's place in the world and its partnerlike alliance with the Soviet Union. Poland is no "parrot of nations," not for a long time. It has become a country that to a considerable extent determines the fate of peace in Europe. This too is the measure of our civic responsibility.

CORRECTION TO 12 AUGUST WARSAW PLENUM REVIEW

The following is a correction to the item entitled "Results of 12 August Plenum Reviewed," published in the 22 August Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page G 23:

On page G 24 a passage was dropped from the last sentence beginning on line eight of the second paragraph. The sentence should read: "As the plenum discussion stressed, this implementation should be accompanied by efforts to adjust the present wage system to the current working conditions in building sites so that better performance is encouraged."

GOVERNMENT REPLIES TO WALDHEIM NOTE ON SECURITY

AU251431 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Aug 80 pp 1, 7

["Declaration on Strengthening International Security Is an Important Instrument of Consolidating Peaceful Coexistence Among Nations--Reply by the Government of the Polish People's Republic to the UN Secretary General's Note"]

[Text] PAP, New York--The Permanent Mission of the Polish People's Republic to the United Nations delivered a reply from the Government of the Polish People's Republic to the UN secretary general's note on the implementation of the declaration on strengthening international security.

On the 10th anniversary of the declaration on strengthening international security, the reply states, the Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes to solemnly stress with particular forces its support for the declaration and its full readiness to implement it. We view the contents and behests of the declaration as an integral part of Poland's traditional peace policy, which is determined by the ideological tenets of socialist states and by the lessons of history.

"The traditional direction of Poland's foreign policy," the resolution of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic of 24 June, 1980, "are further consistent activities pursued in common with the Soviet Union and al our allies to consolidate detente, to strengthen mutual trust and security, to halt the arms race and to further develop international cooperation." That cardinal premise is the basis of numerous Polish people initiatives put forward in the United Nations and elsewhere. Poland's active stand in favor of strengthening international security was also demonstrated by the proposals of the Warsaw session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee last May, proposals aimed at invigorating the fruitful East-West dialogue.

One of the important measures to improve the present difficult international situation was the Warsaw meeting between the Soviet and French leaders with the participation of PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek. The Government of the Polish People's Republic will not cease its efforts to strengthen international security, to extinguish hotbeds of conflicts, to remove the sources that poison international relations, to fully liquidate colonialism and racism and to construct an enduring and real infrastructure of a just peace.

In its activities to consolidate international security Poland is invariably guided by the aims and principles of the UN Charter, by the tenets of the declaration on strengthening international security (2734/XXV) and by the decisions of the CSCE Final Act.

Poland's genuine commitment to building a world without wars was attested to by its submission to the 33d session of the UN General Assembly of the draft declaration on educating societies in the spirit of peace (Document 33/73). Following the adoption of that declaration by the 33d session, Poland took a number of steps to implement it. The main directives on this issue are contained in the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic dated 18 October 1979, which outlined a number of domestic actions--especially in culture, education and upbringing, scientific research and mass media--and actions in the sphere of foreign policy. We are pleased that the declaration has met with a positive response in the international arena. A number of governments and international organizations have undertaken to creatively develop the themes of that declaration.

We expect that a comprehensive summing up and evaluation of the present implementation of the declaration on educating societies in the spirit of peace will be included in the report that--in keeping with the decision of the 33d UN General Assembly--the UN secretary general will present to the 36th session of the assembly in 1981.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic is deeply convinced that in the present complicated international situation it is urgently necessary to intensify efforts to consolidate international security and peace.

The implementation of the NATO decisions of December 1979 on producing new nuclear missiles and deploying them in Western Europe would have a particularly negative impact on that situation. The implementation would aggravate the situation in Europe, worsen the prospects for negotiations on halting and curbing arms in that region and, in consequence, increase--by forcing a new stage of the arms race--the threat of nuclear conflict. Not raising but lowering the threshold of military confrontation is the only sensible alternative. This means continuing, expanding and deepening the process of detente and fully and honestly implementing the CSCE Final Act decisions.

Poland attaches particular importance to a strict observance by everyone of the Final Act's declaration of principles as the necessary foundation for promoting the conditions of lasting security and cooperation in Europe.

On the basis of those principles Poland is comprehensively developing bilateral relations, which produce lasting results in the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres and in people-to-people relations. The Polish Government treats the development of those relations as an important contribution to peaceful stability of Europe and to strengthening the structure of European detente and cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Efforts to expedite the process of normalizing relations with the FRG are of great importance. This is because the importance of that process greatly exceeds the framework of bilateral relations since this process is one of the important factors in the positive development of the situation in Europe. In this connection the Polish Government wants to stress again that it regards the treaties and accords that Poland and other socialist countries signed with the FRG and the four-power agreement of 1971 as a foundation of Europe's peaceful order. The observance and consistent implementation of these accords constitute an important element of the further consolidation of the processes of detente throughout Europe.

The Polish Government also attaches crucial importance to the proposal for a summit meeting of the leaders of the states of all regions of the world--a meeting that could give a new, dynamic impulse to the efforts to search for constructive solutions of the urgent worldwide problems of the present times.

Poland's position on the issue of consolidating the conditions of security and cooperation in Europe was presented in numerous government documents and in the resolutions of the Eighth PZPR Congress, including particularly the resolution "on preserving peace, halting the arms race and continuing the policy of detente" (Document A/35/116). Poland and its allies presented an extensive action program in the declaration adopted on 15 May 1980, by the Warsaw session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee (Document A/35 237).

Poland confirms the view expressed in the declaration that not the expansion of the two military alliances and not the extension of their activities to new regions but the overcoming of the division of Europe into two military-political regions and the strengthening of trust in relations among all European states have made it possible for them to wholly devote themselves to the tasks of development and of peaceful cooperation for the good of entire Europe and world peace. At the same time, the declaration reaffirmed the readiness to dissolve the Warsaw Pact if NATO is liquidated at the same time.

In implementing the principles of its policy of detente, cooperation and disarmament the Polish Government is ready for dialogue and cooperation with all states and political and social forces interested in consolidating international security.

The 1980 Madrid meeting of representatives of the CSCE states should play an important role in strengthening the conditions of security and cooperation in Europe. The Polish Government takes the view that, taking into account, the current international situation, that meeting will be of particular significance. Poland is taking the necessary steps to ensure that the results of the meeting are positive. We expect other countries to do likewise. Achieving positive results at the Madrid meeting is in the interest of Europe and the entire world.

The Polish Government positively appraises the experience of the all-European meetings in 1978-80 in keeping with the decisions of the Helsinki Final Act. It takes the view that it is urgently necessary to implement the Helsinki conference resolutions on protecting the natural environment in Europe, on holding an energy conference and on taking further steps toward coordinating the decision to hold a conference on transportation--a subject that is important for Europe.

The complete normalization and further development of economic cooperation without any difficulties and discrimination at all would also be an element of consolidating peaceful coexistence in Europe. An agreement between CEMA and the Common Market and between CEMA and EEC states on the principles of mutual relations would also be of importance in that regard.

Poland attaches great significance to efforts to expand cultural cooperation and people-to-people contacts in order to deepen the mutual understanding and trust among nations.

In order to consolidate political detente and to improve the conditions of security in Europe it is increasingly necessary to take practical measures to achieve progress in military detente. The Polish Government takes the view that of particular importance in this regard are measures such as consolidation and expansion of the means of trust, curbs on certain military activities and accords aimed at lowering the threshold of military confrontation in Europe on the basis of the principle of equal security.

Poland also is for combining the material means of trust and disarmament with political and legal treaty measures aimed at reducing the risk of conflict and at strengthening the guarantees of the security of states as intended by the proposal that the signatory states of the CSCE Final Act should sign an accord pledging them not to be first to use nuclear and conventional weapons. Poland is vitally interested also in coordinating and implementing further accords aimed at strengthening the political and legal foundations for observing in Europe the principle that force should not be used and that its use should not be threatened.

A conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe could play a positive role in lessening military tension in Europe. The Polish Government has expressed readiness to host such a conference in Warsaw and takes the view that it would help work out specific agreements pledging all CSCE states to carry out effective measures in order to reduce military confrontation and to promote cooperation on disarmament in Europe.

The Polish Government believes that CSCE participants should now begin preparatory consultations with regard to adopting in Madrid the decision on the tasks, deadlines, site and procedure of the conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. The first stage of such a conference should be focused on the means of trust. It is necessary that the following stages of the conference are devoted to far-reaching measures to reduce military confrontation in Europe in the field of conventional and nuclear arms.

The Vienna negotiations on mutual reductions in arms and armed forces in central Europe are of particular significance for the cause of military detente in Europe. With the other socialist states Poland is doing all it can to ensure progress in those negotiations and to achieve agreement on the basis of undiminished security of every state. These efforts have been attested to by the recent proposals to overcome the stalemate of the Vienna negotiations, which are one of the most crucial platforms for strengthening European security. This is an urgent task, one that nevertheless requires good will on the part of all negotiators.

The Polish Government takes the view that it is necessary to create suitable conditions for negotiations on medium-range nuclear missiles. Poland fully supports the Soviet proposals in this regard and expresses the profound conviction that these proposals can serve as a starting point for such negotiations, which are in the vital interest of the security of all European states.

The Polish Government would be ready to pledge not to increase the numerical strength of its troops in Poland on the basis of an agreement among all European states and would do it as of an agreed-on date. Such a freezing of the conventional forces in the region defined by the CSCE Final Act would be an important factor in the peaceful stability and mutual trust in Europe.

Focusing its attention on creating conditions for security in Europe, the Polish Government is devoting the necessary attention to the task of consolidating peace and security and promoting global disarmament and is for the extension of the positive processes of detente to all continents and regions of the world.

For this reason new efforts to achieve progress in the various fields of disarmament that are already being negotiated are a top task.

Poland was very pleased to welcome the U.S.-Soviet SALT II accord. The ratification and implementation of this accord now is an urgent task. It would facilitate further negotiations to further curb nuclear arms, which are a particular threat to mankind.

The successful conclusion of the talks on completely and universally banning nuclear tests and chemical weapons, on destroying the stocks of these weapons and on banning radiological weapons is an important task.

Also, progress with regard to not deploying nuclear weapons in the states in whose territories such weapons have not been deployed would be of positive significance and so would be agreed security guarantees for the states without nuclear weapons and not having them deployed on their territories.

In addition the Polish Government takes the view that new efforts should be urgently made in order to cease the production of nuclear weapons and to gradually reduce these stocks until they are completely eliminated and to ban the production of new kinds and systems of mass-destruction weapons. We need further resolute measures to ensure that the 1968 Nonproliferation Treaty is universally observed and that the effectiveness of the IAEA's safeguard system is increased. This is connected with the issue of guarantees that nuclear energy is used solely for peaceful purposes and that other states do not obtain nuclear weapons as this would create serious consequences for international security.

The Polish Government wishes to reiterate its readiness to make further contributions to the implementation of the comprehensive disarmament program adopted by the 10th special UN session devoted to disarmament.

It also supports the proposal that the United Nations should curb and lower the threshold of military presence and military activities in the relevant regions of the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific oceans, in the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

Intensified efforts to extinguish the present hotbeds of war and to solve the situation that are threatening peace are an important and indispensable measure to strengthen international security.

The comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict continues to be an urgent task. Such a settlement, which should be worked for by all the sides concerned, including the Arab people of Palestine, which is represented by the PLO, would remove one of the sources of international tension, the results of which are felt far beyond the Middle East. The Polish Government takes the view that such a settlement would call for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the territories occupied in 1967, for restoring the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right to set up their own independent state, and for guarantees for the sovereignty and security of all states in the Middle East.

The Polish Government also wishes to reaffirm the complete topicality of its position on a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and on the problem of ensuring for Iran the right to independently determine its fate and to choose the road to its development without any external interference. Poland's position on these two issues was also presented in the declaration issued by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw on 15 May 1980.

Poland highly values the nonaligned movement's contribution to solving complicated international issues. In particular, it supports the resolutions of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of States and Governments of the Nonaligned States in Havana in 1979. These resolutions have made an important contribution to consolidating international security and are of crucial significance for finally eliminating the remnants of colonialism and neocolonialism, for combating racism and apartheid and for safeguarding the interests of new states.

In order to consolidate world peace it is necessary to solve complicated problems concerning equal access to raw materials and of a broadly conceived reconstruction of economic relations on just and democratic foundations. In this connection the Polish Government attaches great hopes to a special UN session on problems of a new international economic order.

The Polish Government wishes once again to stress that it views the declaration on strengthening international security as an important instrument for consolidating peaceful coexistence. While carefully observing the aims and principles of the UN Charter, the Polish Government is determined to continue specific measures aimed at implementing the letter and spirit of that declaration and to cooperate with all states and organizations that--knowing the absurdity and dangers of the policy of confrontation--have chosen the only sensible alternative: peaceful coexistence among states with different systems and peaceful and mutually advantageous international cooperation. The Polish Government takes the view that this is the only possibility for correctly solving the complicated and difficult problems of the contemporary world and that this is the main guarantee of lasting international security.

CEAUSESCU, PCE LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO MEET 26 AUGUST

AU261823 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Aug (AGERPRES)--On August 26, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, met with Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain, now in Romania. Nicolae Ceausescu and Santiago Carrillo expressed deep satisfaction at meeting again and at continuing their friendly dialogue on bilateral and international questions of mutual interest.

During the interview they informed each other of the activity and concerns of the R.C.P. and of the Communist Party of Spain and exchanged opinions regarding the development of the relations between the two parties, as well as a wider range of questions of the international life and of the communist and working-class movement.

During the talks Nicolae Ceausescu and Santiago Carrillo referred with satisfaction to the good relations between the R.C.P. and the Communist Party of Spain and reasserted their resolve to further expand and deepen the relations of close friendship, solidarity and collaboration. It was considered that the steady expansion of the cooperation between the R.C.P. and the Communist Party of Spain contributed to the strengthening of the relations of friendship between the Romanian and Spanish peoples, to the deepening of the collaboration between Romania and Spain. The wish of the R.C.P. and of the Communist Party of Spain was stressed once again to act for a more intense development of the relations between Romania and Spain on a political, economic, cultural and scientific plane to mutual interests. In the interest of the cause of peace and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Approaching essential aspects of the current international situation in the R.C.P. general secretary and the secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain pointed to the political, economic and social transformations occurred in the world following the ever stronger assertion of the peoples' will to live freely and independently, to decide their fate by themselves, to put an end to the old policy of domination and dictate.

The two party leaders pointed out that a series of complex, unsolved problems, phenomena and manifestations persisted in the world which pose serious dangers to peoples' peace and security. It was assessed that under those circumstances most resolute action should be undertaken for removing tension from international life, for resuming and continuing the policy of detente, collaboration, security and peace, of respect for national independence. In this context it was considered that everything possible should be done for solving the states of tension and conflict extant in various parts of the world, all the problems confronting mankind by political means, starting from the principles of fully equal rights and mutual advantage, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-recourse to the threat and use of force, from the sacred, inalienable right of each and every nation to develop freely, self-reliantly without any outside immixture.

During the talk Nicolae Ceausescu and Santiago Carrillo paid particular attention to questions related to the establishment of a climate of peace and security on the European Continent. In this connection they stressed the need for doing everything possible for a thorough preparation and appropriate unfolding of the Madrid meeting so that it should give fresh and strong impetus to the efforts towards the unitary implementation of the Helsinki documents, lead to the development of broad and unhampered collaboration and cooperation among all the countries on the continent and initiate tangible military disengagement and disarmament measures without which one cannot conceive peace and security in Europe and world-wide, determine the convening of a conference devoted to disarmament and military disengagement in Europe.

It was also stressed that the interests of peace and progress called for a passage to concrete negotiations on military disengagement and reduction of armaments, the halting of deployment of further missiles and reduction of the existing ones, on efficient measures for enhancing international trust, removing the danger of new wars. In this context, the need was highlighted to firmly act for the huge funds wasted today on arming to be put in the service of the peoples' economic and social progress, of the development of human civilization.

The two party leaders also considered that the more energetic action was necessary for eradicating underdevelopment and bridging the big gaps still existing in the world. In this connection they referred to the importance of the smooth unfolding and success of the current special session of the U.N. General Assembly on the new international economic order meant to ensure a faster progress to all countries, to those lagging behind in particular, world political and economic stability.

The exchange of opinions on questions related to the communist and working-class movement highlighted the resolve of the R.C.P. and the Communist Party of Spain to act for the development and strengthening of the collaboration and solidarity among communist and workers' parties, of their new-type unity on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, reciprocal respect for autonomy, for each party's right to establish its own political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics in keeping with the specific realities and conditions--historical, national and social--in the respective country.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the R.C.P., and Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain pointed out that the struggle for detente, disarmament and security, for enhancing confidence and strengthening collaboration among nations, for attaining the peoples' aspirations after peace, independence and progress implied an ever closer cooperation among communist, socialist, social democratic parties, among all the progressive, anti-imperialist forces, the intensification of the actions taken by the broad masses of people, the mobilization of world public opinion.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of warm, comradely friendship, of complete understanding and reciprocal respect characteristic of the relations between the R.C.P. and the Communist Party of Spain.

BURTICA MEETS WITH WALDHEIM, OTHER DELEGATES TO UNGA CONFERENCE

AU261227 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1140 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] United Nations, 26 Aug (AGERPRES)--The head of the Romanian delegation at the special session of the UN General Assembly on world economic problems, the setting in of a new international economic order, Cornel Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, met Salim A. Salim (Tanzania), president of the session. During the interview tackled were problems related to the development of the special session, both sides expressing the wish to secure a tight cooperation in view of concluding it with concrete results on the line of setting in a new international economic order.

The head of the Romanian delegation also had interviews with Josip Vrhovec, head of the Yugoslav delegation, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Narasimha Rao, head of the Indian delegation, minister of external affairs; Mark MacGuigan, head of the Canadian delegation, secretary of state for foreign affairs. They discussed problems related to developing and intensifying the bilateral relations as well as aspects related to the successful conclusion of the special session of the UN General Assembly, to the interest of progress of all the countries, of detente and peace the world over.

Waldheim Meeting

AU271033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] New York, 27 Aug (AGERPRES)--The head of the Romanian delegation at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on the new international economic order, Vice-Premier Cornel Burtica, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, met U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

During the meeting tackled were problems related to concluding the session along the line of setting in a new international economic order.

The U.N. secretary general assessed highly Romania's contribution, the personal contribution of President Nicolae Ceausescu to the enhancement of the U.N. role in the international life, to resolving the economic problems confronting mankind, to establishing relations of understanding and collaboration, to the engineering of a new international economic order, to the interest of progress in general, of security and peace.

The head of the Romanian delegation at the special session also had interviews with the minister of foreign trade of the People's China, Li Qiang, with the minister of foreign affairs of Algeria, Mohamed Ben Yahia, and with the heads of delegations of Thailand and Brazil. Discussed were problems related to expanding and intensifying bilateral relations, the collaboration in view of taking practical measures for the setting in of a new international economic center.

FINANCE MINISTER NICULESCU MEETS WITH FRENCH BANKING OFFICIALS

AU261820 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Aug (AGERPRES)--On August 26 Paul Niculescu, Romanian deputy prime minister, minister of finance, received the delegation headed by Jacques Calvet, president of the National Bank of Paris, who paid a visit to Romania. Tackled were questions regarding the development of financial-banking relations between Romanian speciality organizations and the Paris bank, as well as aspects of the development of the Romanian-French economic relations.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION DISCUSSED WITH PAKISTANI DELEGATION

AU261120 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] The Pakistani economic delegation led by Ghulam Hassan Khan, minister of production and industries which is visiting our country today had talks with Ion Ovram, minister of machine-building industry. The sides examined the cooperation ventures underway and new targets for developing bilateral economic relations. They also discussed the construction of petrochemical, cement, tractor-building and other units in Pakistan.

Minister Ghulam Hassan Khan also met with Vasile Pungan, minister secretary of state and adviser to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. They examined the development of bilateral relations in various areas in the spirit of the agreements concluded between the two countries' presidents.

MEXICAN CP SECRETARY GENERAL VERDUGO DEPARTS 26 AUGUST

AU261115 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0935 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Aug (AGERPRES)--Arnaldo Martinez Verdugo, secretary-general of the Mexican Communist Party, who paid a visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP, left Bucharest on August 26.

The guest was seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, by party activists.

CONSTANTIN-LED DELEGATION STOPS OVER IN ANGOLA

AU261225 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1150 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Luanda, 26 Aug (AGERPRES)--The Romanian delegation led by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, and Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the CC of UCY [Union of Communist Youth], made a stopover in Luanda in the evening of August 25, 1980 on their way back home [from Zimbabwe].

At the international airport of the Angolan capital city, the Romanian delegation was welcomed in the name of the Angolan party and state leadership by Ismael Martins, minister of finance.

During the talks conducted, Nicolae Constantin and Ismael Martins evoked the traditional relations between the Romanian and Angolan peoples, between the RCP and MPLA-Party of Labour, the active solidarity Romania showed for the liberation fight of the Angolan people, the official visit of friendship paid to Angola by President Nicolae Ceausescu together with Elena Ceausescu, a moment of wide and deep significances for the future of bilateral relations. Expressing the satisfaction at the positive course of the Romanian-Angolan fruitful collaboration in the years elapsed since Angola won its independence, the collocutors highlighted the wish of the two countries' and parties' leaderships to develop and diversify bilateral relations in various domains, in the economic one in particular, grounded on the observance of the principles of full equality, national independence and sovereignty, and mutual advantage.

In his turn, Nicu Ceausescu met and had talks with members of the leadership of the Angolan Youth Organization who conveyed to the CC of UCY and to the Romanian youth a warm message of militant solidarity in the name of the CC of the MPLA-PL and of the whole Angolan Youth. On the occasion stressed was the role of youth in the struggle for defending international peace, detente and collaboration, for disarmament and building a new international economic and political order, for liquidating the colonialist, neo-colonialst and apartheid policy, for consolidating the independence of the recently liberated countries. Also stressed was the decisive role of the peoples in establishing the concrete ways and forms of development in accordance with their own interests. Expressed was the wish of the two youth organizations' leaderships to continuously develop the relations of friendship and bilateral collaboration.

DEVELOPMENTS IN POLISH SITUATION REVIEWED

LD262040 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 80

[TANJUG correspondent Zoran Zlatanovic Warsaw dispatch]

[Text] The significant new aspect from the Baltic today is the fact that government representatives and representatives of the factory strike committee have again sat down at the negotiating table. The dialogue has been resumed. This shows the Polish party's resolve to solve the present crisis in the country--undoubtedly the gravest and the most complex crisis in the 36 years of the construction of its own model of socialism--only by political means and without the use of other means. Today's Polish press also carries extensive world reactions and they show clearly the interest of all European countries to have the situation in Poland normalize and that this normalization is an internal issue for Poland itself.

While we are reporting this, the strike on the Baltic continues. The workers do not want to stop the strike until they have received full guarantees that their demands will be met. We are not in a hurry, the Baltic workers say. True enough, a strike costs money but every strike anywhere in the world costs money. One of the workers' basic demands is that they be able to set up--as they say--free trade unions in the hands of the working class. Because of this, in Warsaw today the Central Council of Trade Unions held an emergency session. As at the session of the party Central Committee 2 days ago, at this meeting there is a bitter, critical and self-critical debate. The council has been left without its chairman after he had been expelled from the membership of the party's Politburo.

In its editorial today, TRYBUNA LUDU advocates that work be resumed in the country and that the situation be normalized. The return to reality in our country calls for deep and radical changes in the method of management and administration and in the style and methods of solving problems, the paper says. The dialogue between the party and society and between the government and the citizens must have a lasting character. For this character we need not look for prescriptions but we must continually seek new forms of socialist democracy and methods to enrich this democracy and to adapt it to the growth in social consciousness in the country, the party paper says.

BORBA Report

AU261132 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 23 August on page seven carries a 1,100-word report by its permanent correspondent Lazar Martinovic from Warsaw on developments in Poland. Martinovic cites the Polish press reports on the difficult economic situation in the strikebound area of the Baltic coast, the work of two government commissions in Gdansk and Szczecin and on the meetings of the basic organizations of the PZPR discussing the situation and trying to find a way out of the difficulties.

Martinovic says that the press carries extensive analyses of the party meetings, which are "rather turbulent" and at which the communists demand explanations for the social tensions and insist on a reform of the system of planning and economic management. Martinovic says that the press shows full understanding for the demands made.

Martinovic also cites TRYBUNA LUDU on the activity of the antisocialist forces and its denial of the existence of political prisoners in Poland. Citing POLITYKA that every further deterioration of the situation in Poland could lead to a possible new cold war in Europe, Martinovic says that "this dimension has now been given for the first time to the current developments in Poland, thus evidently one wants to draw attention of the public to the country's responsibility for peace and detente in Europe and the world."

POLISH NATIONAL BANK PRESIDENT ARRIVES, HOLDS TALKS

LD261412 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1311 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)--President of the National Bank of Poland Witold Bien and Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Ksente Bogoev, talked here today on cooperation between the central banks of the two friendly socialist countries.

The president of the National Bank of Poland, who arrived here yesterday, will also meet with Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council Branislav Ikonic.

ZAGREB REPORTS CONTINUING RESISTANCE BY AFGHAN REBELS

LD262118 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] According to reports from Kabul and New Delhi the resistance of Afghan rebels continues. Due to battles with the Afghan Army last week, the main road toward Pakistan was again cut off. On this road, 8 km east of Kabul, 100 trucks loaded with goods are waiting to pass. Several hundred Soviet tanks and helicopters have been sent there. Agencies report that the town of Jalalabad is controlled by rebels, except for the most important government and military buildings and installations.

REPORTAGE ON UN SPECIAL SESSION, VRHOVEC ADDRESS

AU261324 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] United Nations, 24 August (TANJUG)--Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, had a meeting with Narasimha Rao, Indian minister of external affairs, at the SFRY mission attached to the United Nations.

In accordance with the traditional friendship and cooperation between the two countries, an exhaustive exchange of views on the existing state of international economic relations and the efforts which the nonaligned and the developing countries are making to resolve the problems in these relations was made at this meeting.

In this connection, views were exchanged on the coming talks within the special session of the UN General Assembly, which begins tomorrow, with special reference to the search for ways that could lead to finding jointly acceptable solutions indispensable to beginning global talks and to adopting an international strategy of development.

The foreign ministers of the two countries also used this opportunity to exchange views on the activities of the nonaligned countries, bearing in mind the ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi next year and the need for its comprehensive preparation.

Josip Vrhovec also met with Agha Shahi, Pakistan minister of foreign affairs. The meeting was devoted to the special session of the UN General Assembly.

They also reviewed the developments in Central Asia and the situation in the Middle East, as well as the coming activities of the nonaligned countries.

During the federal secretary's meeting with Jose Zambrano Velasco, Venezuelan foreign minister, a detailed exchange of views was carried out on the special session of the UN General Assembly and on the activities of the Group of 77 at that session. The Venezuelan minister informed the federal secretary about his country's views on the latest development of the situation in Latin America.

Vrhovec Address

LD262248 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] United Nations--Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of foreign affairs, who is leading the Yugoslav delegation at the 11th special session of the UN General Assembly, spoke late last night at the beginning of the general debate at this session:

Mr President, I am very glad to be able to greet you once again in this high office and express satisfaction over the fact that you have been asked to chair this important special session of the General Assembly. Your rich experience and skill will without a doubt contribute to its successful work.

Also I have the special honor to be able, on behalf of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in my own name, to welcome the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the membership of the United Nations. With this act, Vrhovec said, we confirm the inevitable course of history which is leading toward complete liberation and independence of all countries and peoples. We wish to express our respect for the courageous people of Zimbabwe and for the success of their just struggle against colonialism and racism. It also gives me particular satisfaction to be able to address warm and friendly greetings to His Excellency Robert Mugabe, premier and leader of the people of Zimbabwe. The peoples of Yugoslavia followed this struggle with great admiration and wholeheartedly supported it. We wish the people of Zimbabwe a life in freedom, peace and progress.

This session is taking place in difficult international circumstances. Coupled with constantly growing tensions, the deepseated disruptions in the global economy and the crisis in international economic relations have contributed to the worsening of world stability.

We must also note that the reports by our preparatory committees both on global negotiations and on the strategy of development have, unfortunately, produced fresh disappointments and the resulting concern.

All this casts dark shadows on the prospects for our future. Although we confront great risks which are a challenge to us, we however, do not accept any fatalism. We only want to stress that the seriousness of the situation demands from all of us a feeling of intensified responsibility and of joint efforts to enable us to ensure the success of this session.

In addition to making an assessment of the results in connection with the building of a new international economic system, we should make another effort to come to an agreement on starting global negotiations and adopting a new strategy for the next development decade.

At the Group of 77 ministerial meeting we discussed these questions with the greatest seriousness. We believe that we can find common language on these questions if we jointly display political realism and goodwill, which includes a readiness to understand the real essence of the problems and the consequences resulting from them, Vrhovec said.

It was confirmed as early as the sixth special session of the General Assembly 6 years ago that long-term cyclic disruptions were not the causes of the problems of the world economy because they are structural in nature. For this reason their long-term solutions cannot be found in correcting the existing system but within the framework of a new international economic order.

We see the way leading us to this system as consisting of correcting the inequalities and in eliminating the existing injustices. This will make it possible to bridge the increasingly deep gap between the developing and the developed countries. At the same time it would ensure the economic and social development as a stable base concerning consolidation of peace and security in the world.

We must state with regret that overall development has confirmed that progress is not being attained. On the contrary, we witness intensified opposition to structural changes in existing international economic relations.

We are particularly concerned with the fact that this is happening at a time when the world economy and international economic relations are experiencing a serious crisis. The constant deterioration in the position of the developing countries is assuming dramatic proportions while the economies of the less developed countries are on the brink of collapse. For instance, the increase of the social product of the developed countries alone between the 1950's and the 1970's was 3.5 times as high as the total social product of the developing countries, and their total indebtedness is approaching $500 billion.

The picture becomes even darker when we take into account the fact that the transfer of official development aid has not reached even the half of the agreed rate of 0.7 percent of the gross national income of the developed countries.

This situation, at a time of intensified international tension, in Vrhovec's view, encourages bloc rivalry among the non-aligned and other developing countries, poses a threat to their independence and free development and exposes them to various forms of domination. All this testifies that the security system based on bloc divisions is very unstable and untenable. At best it bases its existence on the balance of terror rather than on consolidation of confidence.

We must constantly bear in mind the fact that the growing wave of demand for political and economic emancipation of the people, for self-determination and independence, for free national and social development, and for democratization of international relations has reached such proportions that it can no longer be ignored.

Today it is clearer than ever before that peace and development are interdependent. Lasting peace is impossible without the development based on justice, solidarity and joint interests. By the same token development based on justice and equality is impossible without peace and peaceful coexistence.

These are the lessons stemming from anticolonial revolution, from the great wave of emancipation of newly-liberated countries and from the powerful influence of nonalignment which has affirmed itself as an irreversible historic fact.

Mr President, international relations are at a crossroads. This is why we have to give a clear reply to the question of whether in the next decade with concerted forces, through a constructive dialogue and negotiations, we shall find adequate solutions to the most important international problems or whether we shall allow ourselves to sink into an even deeper crisis which will pose an even more dangerous threat to peace and stability in the world.

The nonaligned movement has provided a political platform for a new approach to the problems of development and of international economic relations. On this basis the developing countries have been warning for several years now that one has to go to the heart of the problem and do all that has to be done to surmount the difficulties which constantly assail us.

The developing countries do not advocate confrontation and economic war. They are in favor of joint responsibility and of the quest for the solutions which will lead us into a new system of international economic relations.

We rightly expect that the developed countries will refrain from taking individual and group actions which neglect, discriminate against or threaten the vital interests of the developing countries. We do not see another way but that we should all together, regardless of whether we align ourselves with the North or the South, the East or the West, work to devise solutions which will be in the interests of all the countries and all of mankind. This approach would also step up the possibility of getting out of crises and disruptions which seize the world economy.

In so doing, according to Vrhovec, it is important that the conditions for an independent, autonomous and dynamic development of the national economies of the developing countries be ensured. The measures and the actions which we are taking on the international plane should be channelled towards this objective. The special problem confronting the international community is the exceptionally difficult position of the least developed countries. To find the conditions conducive to their faster development is one of the essential factors of general international development. At the same time I should like to stress the importance which we attach to cooperation between the developing countries based on the strategy of reliance on one's own forces.

The special session is taking place at the end of the decade which confronted the world with problems far more difficult than those which emerged at its beginning. Unsatisfactory progress in establishing the new international economic system and a lack of success in the preparations for global talks on international economic development cooperation, as well as the absence of any real progress in the formulation of international strategy of development for the next decade make the time when we gather here even more comples.

We must sincerely admit that at the beginning we had great hopes. We based them on our conviction that the seriousness of the time and the importance of the business which we accepted would generate among us all an identical feeling of heightened responsibility and readiness to search for genuine and long-term solutions. Unfortunately the developed countries embarked on a different approach. In fact, the developing and the developed countries were not in a position to attain agreement on the essential question.

What happens is that if we do not agree that our overall work should lead us to structural changes in the world economy then we must admit that we are still in a state of confrontation and not holding a dialogue.

What we have to do is to look this truth right in the eye and make an additional joint effort to overcome this. Our conviction is that real progress is possible, that it is essential and in the interests of everybody.

We do not deny that certain progress has been made in so far as the solution of short-term problems pertaining to the present economic situation is concerned, and that concrete programs to the advantage of the least developed countries have been accepted, but they are not yet applied in practice. As against this, genuine negotiations are avoided and there is no progress on those questions whose solution could lead to deeper structural changes in the world economy and in the international division of labor.

We are still far removed from the tasks and objectives contained in the declaration and action program which, in our view, are fully in concert with the basic requirements of the economic situation and real problems of today's world.

Among the positive actions we also include the recent international conference on the UN decade for women which was correctly placed in the context of equality, development and peace. So, all the countries should actively join, particularly through the system of UN institutions, in the implementation of UN conclusions and objectives.

Proposing global talks on international economic development cooperation, the nonaligned and other developing countries made an initiative for an integral and interdependent approach to the solution of all most important problems of international economic relations and world economy as a whole.

However, it can be seen from the report by the chairman of the "committee of the whole" that there has been no agreement on the agenda and procedure and on the organization of global negotiations or on the duration of the talks.

Although this represents a disappointment we must not withdraw before difficulties but must tackle with renewed vigor coordination of the stands and the quest for joint solutions during this session, Vrhovec said.

We should like to stress that the spirit of cooperation, as expressed in the final communique, prevailed at the Group of 77 ministerial meeting just ended. The developing countries expressed their readiness to make new efforts to find the solution for the existing differences. In so doing we proceed from our conviction that there is not alternative to global negotiation.

It seems to us that this is just as important that the developed countries, regardless of their economic and social systems, should also display greater readiness to ensure the global negotiations are understood as a joint undertaking in the solution of the most important international economic problems in the interest of all the members of the world community. This means that we cannot resolve our problems by looking backwards but by searching for a solution for our life together tomorrow. Here I am thinking primarily of the need to overcome those obstacles which will make it possible for us to start global negotiations by the anticipated deadline.

I believe that we shall be able to agree on the agenda which will embrace all the essential problems and will be formulated in such a way as not to prejudge the outcome of the talks, but which will at the same time clearly point out the direction in which we must move.

Of course, it would not be wise to reject a priori the need and the possibility to carry out a selection of the priorities in the course of the talks themselves to make the work more efficient. However, the comprehensive nature and the interdependence of the suggested problem should not be put in jeopardy.

As far as procedure is concerned, it seems to me that at this moment this is the main obstacle which has to be surmounted so that we can reach agreement on starting global talks. I think that here too, given goodwill, we can come to an agreement on what represents the essence of this question.

For the developing countries, the relationship which will be established between the central negotiating organ and the existing specialised institutions is truly essential. This in fact is not an organizational but a quintessential question.

We think it would be essential to establish the criteria which will provide us with the assurance that the talks will be conducted on genuine questions, that they will not be dragged on ad infinitum and that we shall carry out the conclusions at which we will arrive jointly within the framework of a clearly outlined integral concept of international economic relations.

The relationship between the central body and the specialized agencies must be formulated so that it will ensure the participation of specialized agencies on the basis of the political agreements attained in the central body. This too should ensure an efficient and equal participation of the developing countries in adopting the decisions and in handling international economic business. Essential democratization of these relations must be ensured; this continues to encounter the opposition of those who have acquired privileges.

In the global talks the trade, monetary and financial questions, industrial development, raw materials, transfer of technology and energy must be discussed in a comprehensive and mutually linked way.

The problem of energy is exceptionally important. I should again like to stress our conviction that it is impossible to envisage a comprehensive nature of global talks if they do not embrace all most important aspects of energy and monetary problems. I should like to mention particularly the need that in connection with the energy crisis in the world we should particularly bear in mind the position of the least developed and of the most affected countries.

The international strategy for the third decade of development is in many ways bound up with the global negotiations. We are particularly concerned over the fact that we have not attained the expected progress in its formulation, as is mentioned in the report by the chairman of the preparatory committee.

The strategy would not be in keeping with its intention if it did not establish both the objectives and the measures which will ensure an accelerated development of the developing countries and overcome the gulf deepening between the developed and the developing countries. This supports our conviction that the level of proposed objectives must be above those established for the second decade of development. Viewed as a whole the development strategy has a meaning only if its represents a clear step in the direction of restructuring the world economy and establishing a new international economic system. In formulating the strategy for the third development decade we should bear in mind the experience with the implementation of the previous strategy to ensure it doesn't share the same fate.

We also bear in mind the concern expressed in one section of the developed world in connection with the unfavorable and uncertain situation, seeing it is an obstacle to taking more resolute actions in the area of international economic relations. Our approach is different. The acute state of crisis of the world economy is one additional reason for taking the measures in order to bring about increasingly more wide-scale structural changes because the origin of the causes of the deteriorating situation and tension are to be found in the present system.

Also in so far as the political and military tension in the world is concerned, we only want to draw attention to the fact that the nonsolution of major economic problems would dangerously worsen the entire structure of world relations with unforeseeable consequences for mankind.

Admittedly our task is neither easy nor simple. However, precisely in this lies the clear knowledge of our responsibility and commitment to invest maximum effort and political will to ensure the special session successfully carries out its very important task. We must not allow failure to happen.

We do not see another more favorable or possible body, apart from the United Nations, which is in a position in a right way and on behalf of the entire world community to face up to deepseated tribulations and big challenges in front of us. Mankind expects us with our activity to create the future of the world in peace, security, solidarity and prosperity.

I can assure you that the Yugoslav delegation will invest maximum goodwill and effort to make its full contribution to the implementation of these nobel objectives, said Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary of foreign affairs.

Report on Muskie Speech

AU261724 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Goran Milic report from New York]

[Excerpt] We have informed you that Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has addressed the special session of the UN General Assembly in New York discussing international economic problems. Our New York correspondent Goran Milic reports:

U.S. Secretary of State Muskie was among the first speakers in the debate, and his speech has caused divided reaction. Some assessed it as lecturing the nonaligned countries, OPEC and the socialist states, and others as a somewhat more flexible approach by Washington to the international economic problems.

The U.S. secretary certainly made an effort to avoid giving a cause for polemics. He did lecture, in a subdued way, but at the same time he pointed out that America--and he meant the Congress to which he belonged until the other day--must increase its aid to the developing world. Muskie's position that America and the developed world should know what happens with the money they give did not cause a favorable reaction, for it recalled some old ideas. Nevertheless, it is a general assessment that Muskie's speech did not close in advance the door to a dialogue or to global talks between the North and the South.

The speeches by the representatives of West Europe are awaited with interest. With the exception of Great Britain, these representatives are ministers. Does this high level of the delegations mean a wish to discredit the positions of the developing countries, above all the OPEC members, or is this a sign of a more constructive approach? We shall see this tomorrow when the chief representatives of the European nine will take their turn at the General Assembly rostrum.

Report on Session

LD261452 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1331 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] United Nations, 16 Aug (TANJUG)--Taking part in the general debate which opened yesterday evening at the special U.N. General Assembly session, chairman of the "committee of all" Bogdan Crnobrnja of Yugoslavia reported that the committee has not completed its main task--that of preparing the agenda, rules of procedure and determining the duration of global negotiations. The responsibility of this lies with those at the helms of world economy, he said. Crnobrnja underlined, however, that the committee's work has not been unprofitable as it has now become clearer where solutions should be sought.

Chairman of the preparatory committee for the new international development strategy, Niaz Naik of Pakistan, reminded the General Assembly that the proposed 7 percent total gross national income of the developing countries has enjoyed significant support, but also met with scepticism on the part of some developed countries. He expressed the hope that the developed and developing countries will find ways for reaching consensus on this question.

Speaking on behalf of the Group of 77 developing countries which he chairs, Indian Foreign Minister Narashimha Rao warned that aid to the developing countries until 1985 will not be above 0.35 to 0.36 percent of the developed countries' gross national product. The elimination of mass poverty is not a question of charity, but of security against a cataclysmic future, he added.

Head of the U.S. State Department Edmund Muskie also took part in yesterday's debate. He pledged that the United States' participation at the session will be constructive. Muskie also spoke of the contribution that should be given by certain groups of countries. Beside other measures, the developing countries should decrease their inflation rate and keep their markets open to products from the developing countries, he said.

In Muskie's view, the oil-exporting countries will contribute towards achieving this objective if they agree to maintain stable oil prices. The United States expect of the developing countries, oil importers, to make better use of their domestic and foreign resources concentrating on the domains of energy and food production. Muskie called on the countries with centralized planned economy to step up their aid to the developing countries.

Before the opening of the general debate, Cardinal Gatting read a message by Pope John Paul the Second in which he calls on the developed countries to allot one per cent of their gross national product for the development of the developing countries.

ROMANIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS

LD262132 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1306 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)--Talks between delegation of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation Council and the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania opened here today. The delegations are headed by the presidents of Yugoslav and Romanian trade unions, Miran Potrc and Emil Bobu, respectively.

In an open, cordial and friendly talk, the representatives of trade unions of the two neighbouring countries acquainted each other with the current tasks of their trade unions in the building up of socialism in their countries. They especially emphasized the permanent growth of the role, commitments and conscious personal and social responsibility of workers in the two countries in the defining and practical implementation of the policy of socio-economic development.

The talks also pertained to the international commitments of Yugoslav and Romanian trade unions and the current state of relations and cooperation in the international trade union movement.

VISITING ROMANIAN PARTY OFFICIAL HAS TALKS ON COOPERATION

LD262348 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Belgrade--Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had a meeting today with Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

In a friendly and cordial atmosphere which marked the occasion, they exchanged views on the development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the RCP. A number of topical international questions were also discussed.

FRENCH OFFICIAL HOLDS TALK ON MADRID MEETING

LD262136 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1455 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)--Two-day Yugoslav-French consultations on the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were held in Belgrade by Ambassador in the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Zotovic and Ambassador in the French Foreign Ministry Martin. A wide exchange of views was carried out on various aspects of the Madrid meeting. Special attention was paid to present conditions in Europe under which preparations for the Madrid meeting are being carried out, to military aspects of security and to consideration of the existing initiatives regarding disarmament in Europe and broader substance of work of the Madrid meeting.